PETITE VILLE:
A SPATIAL ASSESSMENT OF A MÉTIS *HIVERNANT* SITE

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ABSTRACT

This overall goal of the thesis is to use the archaeological and historical records to investigate the lifestyle of 19th century Métis winterers or *hivernants* in the Lower Saskatchewan region. Excavations occurred at the archaeological site of Petite Ville, which is located on the banks of the South Saskatchewan river, north of Saskatoon. Petite Ville was home to approximately 40 Métis wintering families between 1870 and 1874.

It was originally planned to excavate several areas of the site, preferably resulting in the identification and exposure of several structures for intra-site comparison. However, the initial excavations concentrated on an area that contained a very large building. The research shifted to an examination and assessment of the architecture and internal organization of the dwelling. The limited historical descriptions of Métis dwellings are biased by the observers' European backgrounds and it was hoped that the archaeological data would add new information and a greater understanding of 19th century *hivernant* Métis homes.

The architectural remains and artifact assemblage was used to assess the spatial dimensions and organization of the structure and immediately surroundings. The structural remains represent the largest Métis *hivernant* structure excavated at present (20 m x 6.5 m) which appears to have three rooms. Each room is hypothesized to house a Métis family and the structure may have housed more than 40 people.

The artifact assemblage was also examined for clues about Métis consumption, trade and activities. The 14,000-piece assemblage is unique compared to other excavated hivernant sites because fine-screening was utilized for the entire excavation. This resulted in a collection of artifacts of which 80% are less than 2 cm in size. The assemblage provided information on Métis society and activities, such as jewellery making and the use of fragile earthenware teacups. The assemblage also supports previous assertions that the Métis do not make stone tools and that lithics artifacts are primarily intrusive. Preliminary results of the faunal analysis were also included with thoughts on Métis diet and possible dietary stress caused by the decline of bison population.

The results of the Petite Ville excavations were also compared to other archaeological *hivernant* sites (Buffalo Lake, Kajewski, Kis-sis-away Tanner's Camp and Four Mile Coulee). The inter-site comparison examined similarities and differences in Métis spatial organization and archaeological assemblages. The impact of seasonal and permanent abandonment on the archaeological record was also considered. It is hoped that the intra- and inter-site comparisons have added useful information for future archaeological and historical research into *hivernant* history and it is believed that the research goals of this study were accomplished.

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The excavations at Petite Ville would not have been possible without the aid of numerous individuals and organizations. The efforts of the Tadei family and the Petite Ville Restoration Foundation preserved the Petite Ville site which made this and future research possible. Sincere thanks to Karen Tadei for answering my questions and providing copies of earlier reports, along with her friendship. Harold Gabrielson provided equipment, advice and fantastic hospitality.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE THESIS

GA	Glenbow Archives
HBC	Hudson's Bay Company
NWC	Northwest Company
NWMP	North West Mounted Police
OMI	Oblate of Mary Immaculate
PAA	Provincial Archives of Alberta

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH GOALS

The purpose of this study, in its broadest scope, is to use the archaeological and historical record to investigate the lifestyle of late 19th century Métis buffalo hunters or *hivernants*. To this end, archaeological excavations occurred over three years at the site of a *hivernant* wintering camp located on the western bank of the South Saskatchewan River, called Petite Ville (Figure 1). Petite Ville was created during the 1870s when the Métis moved into the Fort Carlton region looking for the ever-shrinking bison herds. It was home to forty families and as many as 400 people for a period of four years.

Petite Ville was first recorded in 1979 by the crew working on the Parks Canada survey at Batoche (Grainger and Ross 1980). An extensive survey was completed by David Burley in 1986. He and his crew recorded 177 features that were grouped together in 26 clusters. They also test excavated one cluster (Cluster A) since it contained all the feature types (i.e., different types of depressions and mounds) of interest to Burley. Tentative assessments of the building's dimensions, orientation and construction were made (Burley et al. 1992:46-47, 51-52).

The landowner, Harold Tadei, became interested in the research and determined to interpret and protect the site. He created the Petite Ville Restoration Foundation in 1991 (Karen Tadei, personal communication 2002). A feasibility study was commissioned by the Foundation to assess the interpretation possibilities and tourist potential of the site (Hilderman Witty Crosby Hanna and Associates et al.1993). Although Mr. Tadei died in 1997, the Foundation carries on his dream.

In 1998, Dr. Margaret Kennedy of the then Department of Anthropology and Archaeology at the University of Saskatchewan held the first of three archaeological field schools at the site. The author participated in all three field schools as a teaching assistant and Petite Ville became the subject of her graduate research. To supplement the field school excavations, the author obtained permits for additional excavations in

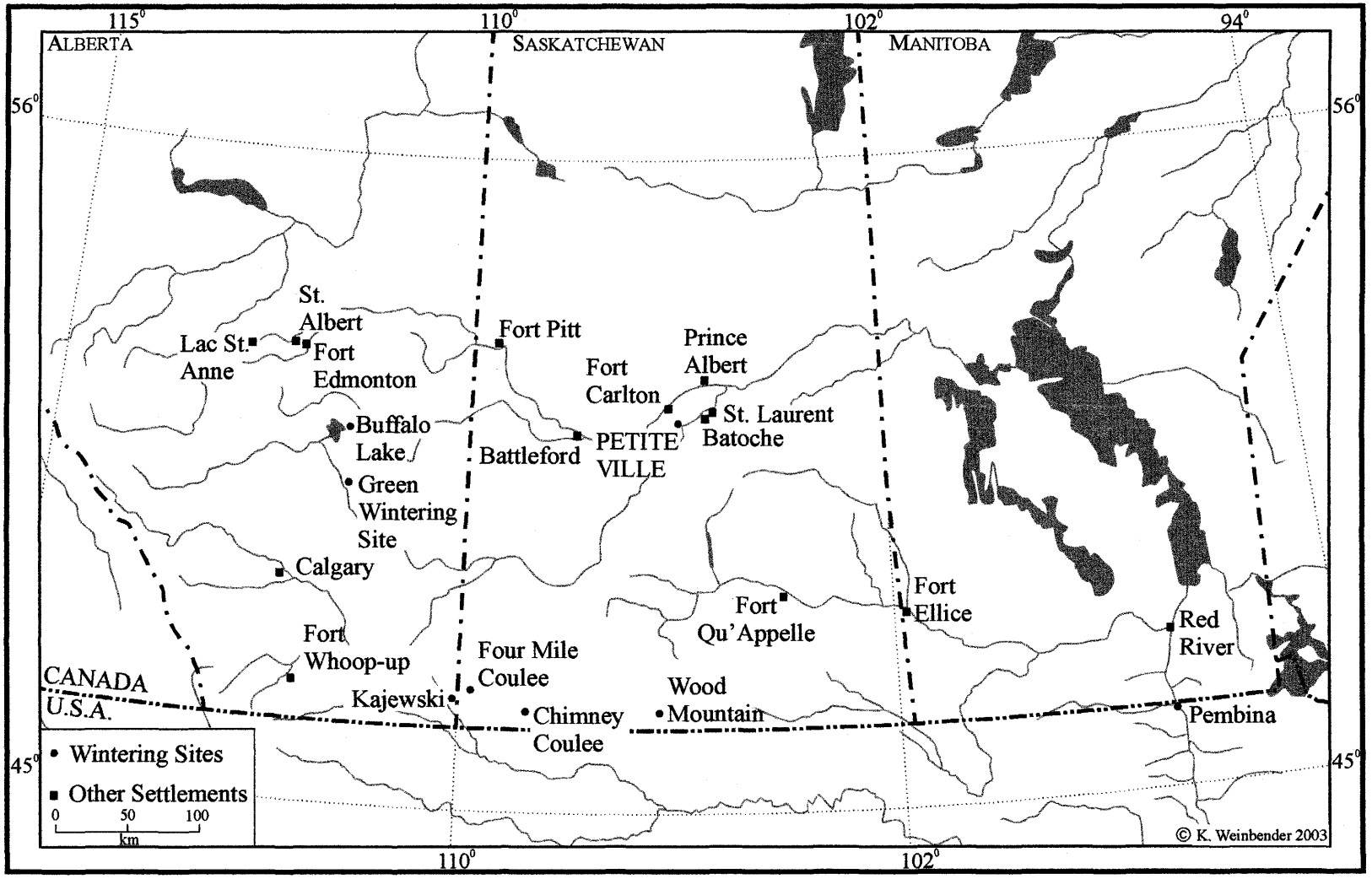


Figure 1: The location of Petite Ville and other important settlements. Adapted from Ens 1999:119.

1999 and 2000. Hereafter, both sets of excavations are referred to as the field school excavations.

It was originally planned that several areas of the site would be excavated (preferably resulting in the identification and exposure of several structures) for the purpose of intra-site comparison. Unfortunately, time constraints limited the excavation to one area in order to fully expose a single, very large structure. The change in excavation plans required only minor modification of the original research objectives. The original research intent was to obtain detailed information about the spatial nature of settlement of Petite Ville. When the excavations remained on one area of the site, the spatial research changed focus to the internal organization of the single dwelling that was excavated.

The *hivernant* Métis lived a semi-nomadic lifestyle in Saskatchewan. The use of semi-permanent log wintering cabins was an interesting adaptation in the lifestyle of nomadic bison hunters. Indeed, there are many questions that arise from their adoption of more permanent housing structures. The major aim of this thesis is a spatial examination of a *hivernant* dwelling. Historically, not much is known about the spatial nature of *hivernant* settlements and structures. The few existing descriptions are usually quite biased by the observer's European background and are typically derogatory in nature. The spatial adaptations of the Métis to their new semi-permanent living quarters are also unknown – specifically, possible changes to the Métis concept of space.

A second objective is to examine Métis consumption and trade practices. The Métis traveled extensively and could potentially access trade at a variety of posts and settlements. However, their access to trade goods was occasionally limited by their location – trading posts could be completely absent from the area or have a limited inventory of trade goods. The nomadic lifestyle of the Métis also placed limitations on their consumption. Goods had to be transported easily in Red River carts and be of limited fragility. An additional consideration is the social pressure and/or strain present in the Métis community. The gradual disappearance of the bison herds was eroding the Métis economy and the foundation of their lifestyle as buffalo hunters. Without the products of the hunt, the Métis lost their ability to trade, both for necessities and luxury goods. They may have turned to their own resourcefulness to replace trade items. It is

unknown if the Petite Ville Métis had preferred trading partners or locations. This thesis will explore how Métis trade and consumption patterns are reflected in the archaeological record.

The final objective is to understand the Petite Ville Métis within the larger world context. Petite Ville will be compared to other *hivernant* sites to assess similarities and differences. This will help set the stage to better understand the role of the Petite Ville Métis in the Carlton region and their impact on the social and natural environments.

Over 14,000 artifacts were excavated during the three years of field school. They will be the primary focus of the analysis and interpretation of this thesis. A similar amount of faunal material was also excavated but only a small portion has been analyzed. The preliminary results will be included with the artifact analysis.

The history of *hivernant* Métis is presented in Chapter 2. This includes a brief explanation on the origin of the Métis and their movement into the South Saskatchewan area. It also examines Métis *hivernant* society and the role of Oblate missionaries.

Chapter 3 provides a detailed history of Petite Ville. Historic references to its founding and occupation are gleaned for details about its physical appearance and occupants. A brief discussion of the physical environment is included, with an assessment on its importance to the Métis occupants.

Chapter 4 provides the archaeological background of Petite Ville. Previous excavations are discussed, as well as the methodology for the field school excavations and laboratory work.

Chapter 5 will be concerned with the spatial assessment of the Cluster A structure and its associated features. The archaeological excavation and related artifact assemblage for each feature will be discussed, as will the pertinent details of construction and related strata. The three rooms of the structure will be compared for similarities and differences in construction methods and artifact assemblages to see if different activity areas can be identified. A brief faunal analysis is also included.

The Petite Ville structure will be compared to other excavated hivernant structures in Chapter 6. The inter-site comparison will examine similarities and differences in spatial organization and artifact assemblages. It is hoped that this will

shed light on Métis consumption and trading practices, within the larger world context. Chapter 7 will present the final summary and conclusions from the study.

CHAPTER 2: BACKGROUND ON MÉTIS IN WESTERN CANADA

2.1. Origins of the Métis

As Europeans traversed North America in their quest for furs, they entered into complicated alliances with native groups. A chief's daughter was often offered to the trader to cement the alliance. The couple would be married according to native tradition and custom. *Metissage* (the marriage of European men and native women) provided benefits to both groups and further mingling was encouraged by the fur trade. Perhaps the relationship seems most beneficial to the Eurocanadian since he gained a protector, interpreter, labourer and craftswoman. His trading partners and allies were gained through his wife's valuable kinship network (McLean 1987:28-30).

However, benefits were not completely one-sided. The aboriginal woman increased her own prestige and that of her band. The increased access to trade goods provided economic opportunities for the band which could increase their power and territory (McLean 1987:29-30; Ens 1996:13). The trade goods could also improve the native lifestyle by decreasing the time and effort required by some tasks (i.e., copper kettles made gathering and boiling water easier; iron knives were better for butchering; guns could be used for hunting and for intimidation; horses made travel faster and easier while increasing the amount of goods that a band could transport with them).

As the fur trade expanded west, the children from these alliances grew up to participate in the trade. Sometimes called half-breeds or *bois-brulés* (Woodcock 1976:20), they played many roles in the fur trade. Men acted as hunters, traders, guides, interpreters, freighters, laborers, etc. Women became wives of traders and fur trade officers. Their labours and skills provided the finished products for trade: robes, furs, leather, pemmican, dried meat, moccasins, etc. They also acted in the roles of interpreters, guides and peacemakers (McLean 1987:27-30, 35-37; Burley et al. 1992:22-24).

A few men and women became incorporated into the upper echelons of the fur trade aristocracy. Men faced more discrimination than women because of their native ancestry, particularly in the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC). It was rare for Métis men to become part of the upper fur trade hierarchy as clerks, officers or partners. English or Scottish men were the preferred choice for the senior positions, depending upon the company. Illiteracy, discrimination and racial stereotypes prevented Métis promotions (Giraud 1986b:181; Anick 1976:131; Brown 1980:30-31, 35, 44-45; Robinson 1972:63-64). Métis women, on the other hand, became the preferred marriage partners for employees of both the North West Company (NWC) and HBC, especially for the gentry (Brown 1980:73-74, 97).

The HBC fur trade gentry was more rigid in maintaining the distinction in rank and status between officers and servants than the NWC. They felt their wives and daughters should reflect that distinction and possess the proper attributes for women of their station. Officers often provided their Métis daughters a "civilized" education to make them into proper English ladies. This group of "educated ladies" remained the preferred source for officers' wives until the 1830s when officers began to bring wives from England (Van Kirk 1980:147-148, 204-206; Brown 1980:123-130, 215-218).

2.2. Métis Occupations

The lives of the Métis were intertwined with the fur trade in different ways. Some Métis had permanent jobs with the fur trade companies and lived their lives near trading posts (Sealey and Lussier 1975:14). They played various roles – freighters, canoemen, interpreters, packers, hunters and occasionally as clerks and traders.

Métis with no permanent contracts to either company termed themselves "freemen" (Doll et al. 1988:11). They supported themselves as hunters, trappers or independent traders. They traded with the companies and took temporary contracts when it suited them. After the 1821 merger of the HBC and NWC, many employees were released from their contracts and joined the ranks of the freemen. Nomadic colonies of hunting families roamed throughout the western parklands and prairies searching for bison. Some colonies formed more permanent settlements, such as Red River, Lac Ste. Anne and St. Albert (refer to Figure 1). Large numbers of Métis would

leave the settlements on hunting brigades for several months at time (Anick 1976:131-132, 148-149; Doll et al. 1988:11-14; Sealey and Lussier 1975:14).

Some Métis, usually freemen, also incorporated small-scale agriculture into their lifestyle. A portion of the year was devoted to tending gardens, grain plots and livestock. However, agriculture was not sufficiently productive to sustain them. Portions of the year were still spent bison hunting and freighting (Sealey and Lussier 1975:14).

The labour of Métis women, regardless of which lifestyle their mates adopted, was crucial to the fur trade as well. The trade could not have occurred without their contributions of dressed furs, leathers, dried meat, pemmican and clothing (like moccasins). Their interpreter skills were also useful during trading, as were their kinship ties (Sealey and Lussier 1975:17). Perhaps one of their most important contributions that is often overlooked, is simply the companionship they provided.

2.3. *Hivernant* Society

Hivernant populations were smaller than those of later permanent settlements and their society showed little stratification. Most of the Métis were hunters or laborers with few aspirations to become commercial or social leaders. Individuals gained respect and esteem through their economic and social activities. This was also influenced by their education, age and gender. Usually status was largely due to commercial success but intellectual and professional occupations could also result in leadership roles. Gabriel Dumont is a good example of the commercial leader, Louis Riel of the intellectual and Father Andre of the professional (Payment 1990:35).

Family played a very important role in Métis life. Family provided support and aid for its members. Aged parents were cared for by their children. Orphans were cared for by their grandparents or other relatives. Since the Métis rarely married outsiders, the entire community was usually related in some manner. There was a strong sense of community spirit and mutual aid (Payment 1990:39-41, 42-43). One historical visitor described a wintering camp as

> ...the most perfect socialist and communistic community in the world. Its members hold every article of food in common. A half-breed is starving, and the rest of the camp want for food. He kills a buffalo, and to the last bit the coveted food is shared by all. There is but a thin rabbit, a piece of dried fish, or an old bit

> of raw-hide in the hut, and the red or white stranger comes and is hungry; he gets his share, and is first served and the best attended. If a child starves in the camp, one may know that in every hut, famine reigns, and gaunt hunger dwells in every stomach (Robinson 1972:269).

The above quotation also indicates the strength of Métis hospitality and generosity (see also Palliser 1863:80; Steele 2000:87). Hospitality formed the foundation of Métis society. The Métis loved visiting, card-playing, smoking and tea drinking (Ross 1957:193). The host was responsible for providing for all his guests' needs. The guests had to be equally hospitable in turn. Dances and music were also very popular. The owner of a new house was expected to host a dance within two days of moving in (Callihoo 1953:22). Violin music provided the music for the reels and jigs (Robinson 1972:48). Marriages usually occurred in the winter and were the cause of much celebration, dancing and feasting (Robinson 1972:267-268).

To the Europeans, it appeared that the Métis incessantly socialized. One 19th century surveyor recorded that the sole occupation of the men was "strolling around the fort's parade ground, from morn till night, smoking" and that the women put on "lady-like airs" while "going from house to house for a cup of coffee or chocolate" (Peterson 1985:47). In the 19th century, H.M. Robinson (1972:50) noted that "....the half-breed smokes and drinks tea. His consumption of tobacco is ceaseless and his libations of tea would do no discredit...". Alexander Ross describes similar social behaviours:

> The men are great tobacco-smokers, the women as great tea-drinkers...Debts may accumulate, creditors may press, the labourer may go without hire, the children run naked, but the tea-kettle and tobacco pipe are indispensable. We have already observed that they are passionately fond of roving about, visiting, card-playing, and making up gossiping parties. To render this possible, they must of course be equally hospitable in return; and, in fact, all comers and goers are welcome guests at their board (Ross 1957:193).

In the 1880s, the crowding of large Métis families in small homes produced family tensions. Fathers or older children "started to detest the cabin". They would stay away from home for long periods to work outside. The option was available primarily to men but it served to reduce tensions (Payment 1990:43-44). Similar tensions must have occurred in the *hivernant* cabins, which were often smaller. Family members

probably employed similar methods to relieve tension and perhaps the many acts of socializing also helped to relieve tensions.

The lack of privacy in Métis homes had some interesting effects on the courting. The enamoured would visit his beloved at her parent's home in the evening. He would be offered a meal, regardless of the hour. After the feasting was completed, the couple would retire to a corner of the house and the entire family would become oblivious to their presence. The oblivion could even extend to the girl's siblings making fun of the guest. The couple would exchange caresses, pet names and intimate conversation. Eventually, the courting would lead to an exchange of gifts and the couple would be considered engaged (Robinson 1972:262-267).

Métis hospitality and socializing were usually viewed negatively by European observers. The Métis habit of sharing whatever remained was considered a "foolish and ruinous practice" (Ross 1957:193) since it disagreed with the European values of saving and thriftiness. Europeans were also greatly aggravated by the Métis lack of planning for the future, especially for the inevitable food shortages. The Métis seemed to live for the day and did not worry about what the future would bring. This was often interpreted as indolence or laziness by the Europeans (see Ross 1957:193; Robinson 1972:49-50, 108-109; D'Artigue 1882:145-146; Giraud 1986b:196-197). However, the Métis seemed to believe that food shortages were inevitable and planning for them was a futile effort.

However, the lack of planning for such shortages does not reflect a complete absence of planning ability. The successfully executed bison hunts are certainly evidence of extensive planning and organization. The inception and creation of the Métis council (Glenbow Archives [GA], Hardisty Fonds [HF], Series 8 M477/140; GA, HF, Series 9 M477/143) also showed the *hivernant* Métis did not lack foresight and did consider what the future might bring. The negative descriptions of Métis culture are the result of European observers measuring Métis life by European priorities. Métis culture had many positive aspects, especially the creed of hospitality. Communities had a strong social conscience which was reinforced by kinship ties. These are features that might benefit our own society today.

2.4. Métis Settlements

2.4.1. Red River

The junction of the Red and Assinniboine rivers formed a lush territory that attracted many Métis freemen. There was plenty of game, including bison, and fish. The soil could be cultivated and there was abundant forage for horses. There were several encampments in the area by 1810, with growing Métis populations (Giraud 1986a:270-271; Dawson 1979:17-18).

In 1810, the HBC ceded 300,440 square kilometres of territory to Lord Selkirk of Scotland. Selkirk wished to use the property in the Red River valley as a place to settle displaced Scottish crofters. The NWC immediately perceived the settlement on the Red River as a threat to their provisioning network. The settlement was located in a critical position on their transportation route between Montreal and Rupert's Land (Giraud 1986a:391-411; Burley et al. 1992:17; Ens 1996:9).

The already bitter conflict between the two companies worsened with the NWC's attempts to disperse the colony. Initially, the Métis in the area showed very little concern about the colony. However, as the settlement's governor tried to impose rules on bison hunting and trading, the Métis became concerned about the impact on their way of life and economic subsistence (Giraud 1986a:396-397). The NWC acted to inflame the Métis' apprehensions and to increase their feelings of alienation from the colony. This resulted in some of the first symbols of Métis nationalism, such as the Métis flag (Burley et al. 1992:17-19).

The efforts of the NWC to undermine the colony finally ended with the 1821 merger with the HBC. The merger created a large number of redundant employees and posts. As the HBC streamlined its operations, released servants were encouraged to settle at Red River with their Métis families.

The HBC believed that the large number of former servants with families to support could present a danger to the Company's trading operations. The Company felt it was in its best interests to concentrate people where:

1. it would benefit the trade,
2. the people would have some method of supporting themselves, and

3. they could be exposed to the "civilizing" influences of the missionaries (Burley et al. 1992:19).

The Company also believed that it could use this source of labour to save money. It began hiring Métis workers seasonally and saved on wages by laying people off in the quiet season. The large pool of labour increased competition for employment and allowed the HBC to offer lower wages (McLean 1987:50-51).

The population of Red River changed between the 1820s and 1860s. Large numbers of former employees and their Métis families came to Red River to try their hand at settled agriculture since there were few other economic opportunities available. Meanwhile, Eurocanadian immigrant populations decreased in the area (Giraud 1986b:49). The HBC actively discouraged large-scale agricultural settlement since it conflicted with the fur trade (Burley et al. 1992:19). The Red River settlement was large enough to provide labour and provisions for the Company but did not threaten the fur trade. It provided the HBC a source of agricultural produce if the Métis could become successful farmers. As well, if the message from the missionaries had an impact, the population might become more docile and amiable to the HBC and trade (Ens 1996:10-11).

2.4.1.1. The Problems with an Agricultural Lifestyle at Red River

The HBC and missionaries hoped that the Métis would stop their nomadic wanderings and take up settled agriculture. However, several factors prevented agriculture from becoming the dominant mode of subsistence. The Métis were not farmers and had to learn about crops, livestock and soil fertility. The lack of experience, farming tools and supplies certainly provided strong obstacles (Ens 1996:35). For example, livestock was not raised in large numbers at Red River until after 1827. The Métis did not have experience with haying and were not able to store enough winter fodder for the animals before then (Ens 1996:37). No doubt the Métis also found the new tools and agricultural lessons to be overwhelming – just as a person raised in a modern city would.

In the decades to follow 1820, most years presented a crop failure (Burley et al. 1992:20) which must have been discouraging. The crops were not adapted to the climate

or growing seasons. They suffered from frost, flood, drought and locusts and even the European immigrants were unable to survive off their harvests (Giraud 1986b:10).

In the occasional good year, another barrier became apparent - the lack of a market to dispose of surplus goods. When the colony had a successful year, the HBC was the only possible buyer. Very little surplus was required to saturate the market, which rendered the goods of most people worthless. Without markets to stimulate productivity, anyone (Métis and immigrant alike) who tried agriculture was discouraged from giving their best efforts (Giraud 1986b:84-85). In 1857, when Hind (1971 Volume I:230) questioned farmers about the small number of cattle at Red River, he was told that as soon as there was a market for beef, tallow and hides, there would be a larger number of cattle.

2.4.1.2. The Beginnings of the Formalized Bison Hunt

With all the problems associated with farming, all the settlers at Red River depended on hunting and fishing for survival. The majority of the food was provided by hunting which was supplemented by the small crops that were produced. The bison herds were numerous and seemed to represent enough food for everyone. The hunting skills of the Métis often provided the food for the colonists and they were hired to show the colonists how to hunt (Giraud 1986b:10, 15, 17). For the Métis, trying to improve agricultural skills when hunting skills were in demand must have seemed quite foolish.

Unfortunately, the bison herds were not dependable, either. The hunt failed often in the 1820s because the bison were becoming harder to find around Red River (Giraud 1986b:11). The settlement's population had increased and hunting had taken its toll on the animals around the settlement (Ens 1996:39). In order to provide for the colony, the hired Métis hunters were forced to go further afield. Pockets of hunters became established around Red River, in places such as Pembina (Giraud 1986b:17). By the late 1820s, the demand for meat by the colony and the HBC had resulted in an organized bi-annual bison hunt (Giraud 1986b:19). The summer hunt was used mainly to generate pemmican and dried meat. Robes were at their best in the fall and early winter and were the prime reason for the fall hunt (Dawson 1875:95). There continued to be very little incentive for the Métis to change their nomadic lifestyle or hunting traditions.

2.4.1.3. The Organization of the Bison Hunts from the Red River Area

The bison herds continued being found further away from Red River in the Missouri River region and the Saskatchewan District (Anick 1976:124; Woodcock 1976:42). Travel time was measured in weeks rather than days. Hunters started going out in groups to make a common approach on the herds. Distance was not the only reason that travelling as a group became necessary. The nearest and largest bison herds were being found to the southwest of Red River in Sioux territory (Ens 1996:39).

The Métis hunting brigades faced violent reprisals from the Sioux and other aboriginal tribes for two reasons. First, native peoples were upset with Métis hunting in their territories. Their survival was threatened as the Métis depleted the bison herds they depended upon. As a matter of survival, tribes attacked those who preyed on their herds (Doll et al. 1988:13-14). Secondly, the Métis were attacked if they were identified as a tribal enemy. For example, Métis with Assinniboine blood or who were allied with the Assinniboine, gained the enmity of the Sioux (Giraud 1986a:278). The Blackfoot warred against the Cree, Assinniboine, Chipewyan and any of their Métis allies (Steele 2000:75; Doll et al. 1988:10; Woodcock 1976:66; Jamieson 1953:22). The prospect of violence forced the Métis to become fighters in order to keep their horses, their provisions and their lives (Giraud 1986b:26). Organization was key to the success of the hunt and getting back alive.

Hunting brigades began going out twice a year in 1827. This formalized into the spring and fall hunts a few years later (Giraud 1986b:19). Métis from different areas such as Red River, St. Boniface and St. Francis Xavier would meet other hunting brigades at Pembina. While the caravan was being organized, the Métis would gather supplies such as firewood and poplar poles. The event had the air of a festival: smoking, gaming, horse racing, and visiting were all at hand.

When all the groups were present, a leader and twelve councillors were elected as hunt administrators. They set rules to ensure a successful hunt. If rules were broken, the council decided upon the appropriate punishment and carried it out. They also arbitrated differences and decided upon the movement of the caravan. The authority of this government lasted only for the duration of the hunt but it was very effective and certainly very different from the aboriginal hunting methods (Giraud 1986b:141-143).

The organizational government of the Métis provided protection against aboriginal enmity. Hunt captains were appointed by the council and the hunters were organized with ten men under a captain. They enforced the council's decisions and served as protectors for the camp. They kept watch at night and stayed vigilant for native attacks (Giraud 1986b:143).

The caravan began marching at daybreak. Guides were responsible for finding the best route to the hunting ground that was safe from attack and easy for the carts to follow. The carts would be organized in two to four parallel columns so that they were not as vulnerable to attack. The lines were often up to ten kilometres long. Groups of men served as guards at the front, rear and sides of the columns. If the alarm was sounded, the carts instantly formed two columns which then moved to become a circle. The carts were put wheel to wheel which formed a corral around the oxen and horses (Ens 1996:41). Women and children were protected within the circle as well (Giraud 1986b:161).

If a bison herd was spotted, the caravan formed a camp. The hunters would take their fastest horses and move towards the herd. There was a code of conduct for approaching the bison and offenders faced heavy fines. When the leader gave the signal, the hunters would charge the herd and try to kill as many bison as possible. The air was thick with dust and filled with noise. Hunters could be injured or killed by many things: stray gunfire, their own gun misfiring, being thrown from their horses or being attacked by a bull (Giraud 1986b:147-148; Ens 1996:41-42; Woodcock 1975:37-38).

The number of animals that could be killed in one day was enormous. In 1840, 400 Métis hunting in United States territory killed 1375 animals on one day. Gabriel Dumont's family alone brought about 1600 lbs of meat back, which does not include the amount of meat they ate while travelling (Woodcock 1976:37-38). One Métis, Abraham Salois, killed 37 bison on one hunt and a total of 600 over the winter (Steele 2000:87).

The bison were butchered and processed by the women. There are several detailed descriptions of the butchering and pemmican-making process (see Giraud 1986b:148-151; Anick 1976:106-127; Elliott 1971:91-103; Steele 2000:94-96). It took about a week to process the meat from each day (Elliott 1971:99), which was then

placed in the carts. When the carts were full of pemmican, dried meat and robes, the hunt was complete and the Métis returned home (Ens 1996:43).

2.4.2. Métis in the Upper Saskatchewan District

The HBC's encouragement was not sufficient to keep all the newly created freemen at Red River after 1821. The movements of the freemen are not easy to follow through the 1820s and 1830s. Doll et al. (1988:11-13) suggests that those present in the Upper Saskatchewan District returned to Red River in the winter of 1834-1835. The smallpox epidemic of 1836-1837 created a resurgence in the population of the Upper Saskatchewan as freemen left Red River. Scrip applications indicate settlements began in 1838. Missionaries later travelled to these parkland settlements and joined the Métis. Places like St. Albert and Lac Ste. Anne became large permanent settlements.

The freemen engaged in bison hunting, fishing, freighting and trading. Occasionally, they did contract with the HBC. Large hunting brigades were organized in the Upper Saskatchewan region in the 1830s. These were very similar, if not identical, to the Red River hunts, with the exception that the Upper Saskatchewan area served as home base. Excess supplies continued to be traded to the HBC to supplement their lifestyle (Doll et al. 1988:12-13).

2.4.3. Métis in the United States

Métis settlements and hunting brigades were not limited to Canada. The Métis often crossed the International Boundary as they followed the herds. Pembina, on the border between Minnesota and North Dakota, was an important Métis settlement. Montana was also a favoured Métis hunting destination in the 1860s and 1870s. Many Métis from Red River migrated to Pembina and then into surrounding states as they searched for the decreasing bison herds. A number of Métis migrated to Pembina and Montana from Red River after the 1870 conflict with the Canadian government (Kennedy 1997:19).

2.5. Following the Herds into Saskatchewan

The organized hunts were incredibly successful wherever they took place. The local bison populations were decimated around Red River and in the Upper Saskatchewan District. By 1840, the bison herds were found far from Red River (Anick 1976:124) and by 1850, people were predicting their eventual extinction (Doll et al.

1988:13). By 1866, only 150 carts participated in the Red River bison hunt because the herds were too distant (Ens 1996:120). Hunts in the Upper Saskatchewan were also searching for herds farther afield.

In order to be closer to the herds, many families began to stay the winter on the plains and parklands in small camps where fuel and food were plentiful. These small "wintering over" camps were temporary in nature. They provided a refuge from the open plains where the lack of fuel and shelter could prove fatal to snow-bound hunting brigades (Jamieson 1953:28).

In the 1860s, more Métis began leaving Red River and the Edmonton area in order to stay near the Saskatchewan bison herds. By 1863, a Métis band of 200 hunters, led by Gabriel Dumont, was noted to be wintering in the South Saskatchewan area around Fort Carlton (Woodcock 1976:76). Several wintering villages existed along the South Saskatchewan River, taking advantage of the wood, shelter and abundant bison. The Métis often returned to previous wintering locations but new centres were also started near Qu'Appelle and Crooked Lake. The *hivernant* settlements now contained log cabins with substantial populations and some gained a degree of permanence (Giraud 1986b:395-396; Anick 1976:151-153; Ens 1996:120-121, 154; Burley et al. 1992:22).

2.6. The End of the Hunt: Changing to Agriculture

The Métis in the Fort Carlton area were aware of the falling numbers of bison herds. On December 31, 1871, a meeting was held to determine their future. A number of influential men were present, including Lawrence Clarke (HBC Chief Trader at Fort Carlton), Father André (Oblate of Mary Immaculate Catholic missionary), and the heads of Métis families such as Dumont, Paranteau and Battoche.

From the minutes of the meeting, it is obvious that the Métis had discussed the impact of the eventual extinction of the herds on their way of life. They were concerned about the future of their children since they did not believe the bison would be present to support them. They were also cognisant of the impact that European immigration would have on their culture and wanted a legal claim to the land they thought of as their own. A committee was appointed to determine a suitable location for a permanent French Métis agricultural colony by the spring of 1872. One of Métis patriarchs, Louison

Battoche [sic], Sr., present believed that "The young people could not lead the same lives as their fathers. The country is opening out to the stranger and the Métis must show his white blood and not be crushed in the struggle for existence." (GA, HF, Series 9, M477/143).

The colony did not establish itself overnight. Much to Father André's dismay, the Métis were not eager to become farmers. However, they did build the colony quickly once they could be persuaded to move there. The Métis did not stop hunting after moving to the colony but the yields decreased substantially after the unrestrained hunting of 1875 (Provincial Archives of Alberta [PAA], Edmonton, Acc. No. 84.400 OMI Box 22 Item 738). By 1879, the St. Laurent de Grandin colony was beginning to improve its agricultural yields and Father André believed the Métis had truly become farmers (Giraud 1986b:397).

The St. Laurent colonists were scattered over an area greater than 40 km in length. The colony boundaries included areas such as Fish Creek, Batoche and St. Laurent and the former Petite Ville. The colony had an estimated population of 50 families (approximately 300 people). The South Saskatchewan region had an estimated total population of 1500 Métis (Payment 1977:29).

2.7. The Influence of the Roman Catholic Church and Oblate Missionaries

2.7.1. The Beginning of a Catholic Presence

There were no Roman Catholic missionaries present in western Canada when the Red River settlement began. It was only after the petition of Lord Selkirk for a priest that the decision was made to establish a permanent Roman Catholic mission (Anick 1976:132-133). Although the colonists requested their presence, the main goal of the missionaries was to Christianize the native population. Two men, J.-N. Provencher and S. Dumoulin arrived in 1818 from the Catholic Diocese of Quebec and to begin ministering the Métis of St. Boniface and Pembina (Huel 1996:11-13; Dawson 1979:26-29).

As early as 1819, it was realized that the Christian message would have a greater impact if the missionaries accompanied the Métis on the hunt. Other religious orders had already realized this. In order to compete, Father Dumoulin followed their example

and accompanied Métis hunters in 1822. The presence of missionaries on the hunt was initially sporadic but became more customary (Giraud 1986b:60-61).

However, the clergy did not like the rough life of the *mission ambulante* and Provencher's persistent support of nomadic missions led to friction within the ranks. By 1844, Catholic efforts were hindered by a lack of missionary manpower and by the clergy's resistance to the *mission ambulante* (Huel 1996:15). Additional personnel was requested from the Archbishop of Quebec and it was suggested that the Oblate order of Mary Immaculate would be better suited to the harsh lifestyle of the Northwest (Anick 1976:145). Fathers Pierre Aubert and Alexandre Taché were the first Oblates in the Northwest, arriving at St. Boniface in August 1845 (Huel 1996:15-17).

Missionaries found that the Métis held their priestly avocation in great regard. They were granted instant respect and prestige. The Métis community was usually open to receiving the Christian message and was attentive to the priests. The increasing influence of missionaries was indicated by Métis migrations to areas with a priest. When the new St. Albert mission was established in 1861, over 20 families of Métis moved to the area by 1863 (Anick 1976:147-148).

However, the usual practice was for the priest to migrate to the Métis. More nomadic Métis communities showed a marked decrease in their devotions. They were open to the message but less inclined to attend Mass or observe Christian holy days – especially if a priest was not present (Dawson 1979:69-70). This emphasized the importance of the *mission ambulante.* Christian devotion could be reinforced by the priests for the entire year *if* they accompanied the Métis on their seasonal rounds. Perhaps due to the priestly dislike of the *mission ambulante*, sedentary Métis were considered better followers of the faith. For both reasons, priests were greatly motivated to encourage the abandonment of nomadic hunting (Huel 1996:53).

Provencher's hope for the Oblate tenacity proved true. By the late 1840s, a network of Roman Catholic missions was present in the Mackenzie River district (Anick 1976:146). Expansion efforts into Ontario, eastern Manitoba and Saskatchewan began in the 1860s (Huel 1996:52-53).

2.7.2. Coming to the South Saskatchewan District

The Oblates were known in Saskatchewan from the early St-Jean-Baptiste mission at Ile á la Crosse which began in the late 1840s. The primary focus of the mission was to Christianize the aboriginal population but the local Métis population was not overlooked. The Oblates shared their home with three Grey nuns after 1860. Efforts were made to teach agricultural skills and a school was organized (Dawson 1979:177-191). Permanent missions were also established at Lebret in 1865 and Qu'Appelle in 1868. However, it was still easier for the missionary to go to the Métis than to get the Métis to go to the mission (Huel 1996:53-54).

In the 1860s, the Catholic presence increased around Fort Carlton to combat the presence of other religious denominations. However, the intermittent visits remained limited in length and number. Not surprisingly, Father Andre was dismayed by the lack of Christian conduct in the area's Métis. His 1868 recommendation to establish a permanent mission was ignored until the Métis requested the presence of a priest at a wintering village in 1870 (Dawson 1879:201, 205-208, 210-211).

Father Moulin was sent from Ile á la Crosse to spend the winter with the settlement. He was replace by Father Andre who accompanied the Métis that spring in the tradition of *mission ambulante*. Father Andre and the Oblates remained in the Fort Carlton area for many years. Andre's request for a permanent mission was granted in 1872. Although the official buildings of St. Laurent de Grandin mission were not built until 1874, the decision marked the beginning of a permanent Oblate presence in the area (Dawson 1979:212-213; Payment 1990:101-110; PAA, Acc. No. 84.400 OMI Box 22 Item 738).

The Oblates, especially Father Andre, were greatly respected and esteemed by the Métis of the Carlton region. His influence on the Métis who lived at Petite Ville is evident in the historical records, especially in the creation of the new permanent colony. The priests had a significant position in Métis society and their influence was apparent well into the 1890s (Payment 1990:35-36; Woodcock 1976:78).

CHAPTER 3: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND ON PETITE VILLE

3.1. Physical Environment and Resources

Petite Ville is located on the west bank of the South Saskatchewan River, near Rosthern (Figure 2). The site lies on a terrace between the river and the Batoche Sand Hills physiographic subsection (Hilderman Witty Crosby Hanna and Associates et al. 1993:37). Aspen Parkland vegetation covers black Chernozemic soils (Fung 1999:132-133). The land has never been broken and suffered very little disturbance from being used for picnicking, camping and fishing.

The majority of the site is wooded with trembling aspen as the most common tree (Fung 1999:136). Closer to the river, brush and grass dominate. Historical documents (and common sense) suggests the site would have been more open in the nineteenth century since people would have cleared the brush to build their homes and wood would have been needed for fuel. Prairie fires may also have restricted the wooded territory (Fung 1999:136).

Balsam poplar, paper birch, green ash and western cottonwood are also present. The common shrubs present are snowberry, rose, silverberry, creeping juniper, bearberry, willow, hawthorn, raspberry, saskatoon and chokecherry (Hilderman Witty Crosby Hanna and Associates et al. 1993:43; Fung 1996:136).

A wide variety of animal species would have been potentially available to the Métis since they could access both river and parkland resources. The Métis had moved to the area to access bison herds which traditionally formed the foundation of their diet. Other mammals available include white-tailed deer, mule deer, antelope, elk, moose, porcupine, beaver, muskrat, coyote, grey wolf, mink, wolverine, black bear, badger, racoon, river otter, snowshoe hare, white-tailed jackrabbit and cottontail (Fung 1999:139-141). A wide selection of terrestrial birds and waterfowl were available as well: songbirds, owls, sharp-tailed grouse, ducks, geese, cranes and swans (Fung

1999:145-153; Hilderman Witty Crosby Hanna and Associates et al. 1993:43). The river also provided a variety of fish species (Fung 1999:154).

Figure 2: Aerial shot of Petite Ville, looking north. The majority of the site is with the trees. The faint white area (under the arrow) is where the excavations took place. Photograph courtesy of Dr. M. Kennedy.

3.2. The Founding of Petite Ville

There is some question as to the exact year that Petite Ville was first occupied. In 1868, Father Andre visited a Métis settlement where Gabriel Dumont "reigned." Some researchers believe the settlement was Petite Ville (Woodcock 1976:77-78; Anick 1976:235) while others believe that Father Andre visited a settlement near Duck Lake (Dawson 1979:208). Giraud (1986b:396) believed Petite Ville began in 1870 when forty families, "exiles from Red River," built a wintering village near a bend in the South Saskatchewan River. They were joined by other Métis in the area. At that time, an epidemic of smallpox was ravaging the area and the Métis requested the assistance of a priest. Father Moulin joined "several families established on the south branch of Saskatchewan twenty-five miles from Carlton" in autumn of 1870. Father Moulin only stayed the winter since a permanent mission had not been authorized. Father Andre was sent to Petite Ville in the spring of 1871 to accompany the Métis hunting brigade (PAA, Acc. No. 84.400 OMI Box 22 Item 738).

There is a strong possibility that Petite Ville is older than 1870 or 1868. The Métis were in the area as early as 1860, settling in wintering villages (Giraud 1986b:396). Gabriel Dumont was in the area as well. He was elected chief of the Métis wintering in the Saskatchewan district in 1863 (Woodcock 1976:76; Dawson 1979:203). It is highly unlikely that the Métis would not have noted the suitability of Petite Ville for settlement and they almost certainly would have visited the site during their nomadic wanderings. Unfortunately, with the current documents, one cannot prove with any certainly that the Métis lived at Petite Ville before 1870.

3.3. The Founding of St. Laurent Mission

Fathers Andre and Bourgine replaced Father Moulin in the fall of 1871. When they arrived in October, they discovered that the Métis had enlarged the church and built a new house for them. The mission became permanent when Bishop Grandin officially placed it under the protection of the martyr, St. Laurent, in 1872. The name also honoured the name of Father Andre's brother who was also a priest (PAA, Acc. No. 84.400 OMI Box 22 Item 738).

3.4. The Creation of the St. Laurent Colony

The Métis living at Petite Ville recognized that the bison herds were decreasing in number and size. In 1871, it was noted that some of the favourite hunting areas were no longer populated (Giraud 1986b:411). A meeting was held on December 31, 1871 to determine their future since the Métis did not think the herds would be present to support them for much longer. The unanimous decision to establish a permanent, agricultural Métis colony elicited the fervent approval of Father Andre. An appointed committee was to evaluate several suggested sites and to decide upon a suitable location in the spring of 1872 (GA, HF, Series 9, M477/143).

Unfortunately for Andre, the idea of a colony was greeted with more enthusiasm than the reality of building one. Most Métis were not eager to abandon their hunting pursuits for agriculture and, as longer as the herds were present, there was little need to become farmers. Although the Métis recognized the herds were dwindling, they were likely optimistic about the time they had before the bison disappeared, i.e., the animals would not become extinct and they could remain hunters. Although the Métis had agreed that the St. Laurent colony was necessary, it would not become reality for several years.

In 1872, the bison herds were concentrated around Qu'Appelle River and Wood Mountain. Hunters went in droves, which made it apparent how few animals were left. Petite Ville hunters returned from the 1873 fall hunt with carts less than half-full and Father Andre felt that "the prairie is almost finished, and the animals are about to disappear" (Giraud 1986b:412). The scarcity of bison by the winter of 1874 reduced Métis at Petite Ville to eating poisoned wolves (Giraud 1986b:412-413). Several years of near-famine probably convinced the Métis that the creation of the colony was going to have to occur sooner rather than later.

A public meeting was held at Petite Ville on December 10, 1873. The assembly met to discuss the pending establishment of the colony and the creation of a law-enforcing body. At the time, there was no law-enforcing body from the Canadian government present in the Saskatchewan District (the NWMP did not arrive until 1874). Under Gabriel Dumont's leadership and with Father Andre's support, the Métis moved to fill this vacuum. A president and eight councillors were elected for one year to

arbitrate disputes and to establish and enforce laws and regulations (e.g., punishing criminal offences, preventing prairie fires, free ferry service on Sundays, regulating the employer-employee relationship). On February 10, 1874, a second assembly was held which regulated property rights and land use (Dawson 1979:220-221; Anick 1976:202-206).

The assembly affected a large number of people. There were an estimated 200 to 250 Métis families or about 1500 people living in the Carlton area in 1872 (GA, HF, Series 9 M477/141; GA, HF, Series 9 M477/144; GA, HF, Series 11-1 M477/154). This was not an attempt to usurp Canadian authority but their efforts were distrusted by the NWMP and the territorial authorities (GA, HF, Series 8 M477/140).

In 1875, some Métis hunters went ahead of the caravan which broke the rules of the council. With the council's assent, Gabriel Dumont and his captains imposed heavy fines and sanctions on the guilty hunters. The latter complained to the governmental authorities who dispatched 50 NWMP to convince the Métis to disband the council. The lack of outside support deprived the council of any real power and it was soon reduced to inaction (Payment 1990:146-147). The Canadian government showed little concern for the area and the Métis moved to remedy the lack of government. The council showed foresight and planning on the part of Métis. The council could have done a lot of good in the area, had the Canadian government not over-reacted to the perceived threat to its authority.

3.5. The Abandonment of Petite Ville

To Father Andre's delight, the St. Laurent mission was moved in the spring of 1874 to the site now known as Batoche (PAA Acc. No. 84.400 OMI Box 22 Item 738). Father Bourgine was not present for the move since illness had forced him to leave the mission in 1873 (Dawson 1979:213). Father Moulin had returned to the Carlton area in 1873 to administer 73 Métis families at another wintering village, Prairie Ronde (south of present-day Saskatoon in the Moose Woods). He had encouraged the creation the colony during his earlier stay at Petite Ville (Dawson 1979:213-214, 219) and no doubt added his efforts to Father Andre's to get it established.

The original decision to move had been made three years earlier and Father Andre had been irritated by the delay:

> It was only after great difficulty... that the resident missionary succeeded in persuading the people to establish themselves on the land permanently. The relaxed and laid back life of the prairie is tempting to them whereas sedentary life on the land revolts them. They are antipathetic toward farm life, which besides demanding energy and work, obliges them to abandon the nomadic prairie life which procures them excitement and pleasure for their mobile and inconsistent character (PAA Acc. No. 84.400 OMI Box 22 Item 738, translation).

Once the building of the colony began, the move from Petite Ville seems to have progressed promptly. Father Andre was pleasantly surprised at how quickly the colony took shape and described "pretty homes" that were present by early June. By the end of 1875, the buildings for the mission were essentially complete, except for the school and cemetery (PAA, Acc. No. 84.400 OMI Box 22 Item 738).

The church seems to have been the focal point of the colony but in reality, the Métis were settled on farms that stretched over an area of 40 km. The older settlement of Petite Ville fell within the boundaries of the new one of St. Laurent (Payment 1977:29). The Petite Ville Métis did form the nucleus of the St. Laurent settlement – it is just not clear how quickly they chose to leave their *hivernant* roots. Some Métis chose to move earlier than 1874. For example, Gabriel Dumont established a farm and ferry service downstream from Petite Ville in 1872 (Woodcock 1976:86-87). In the same year, Xavier "Batoche" Letendre established his ferry and store at the spot later called Batoche's Crossing (Hilderman Witty Crosby Hanna and Associates et al. 1993:16). Baptiste Hamelin, Charles Racette and Joseph Parenteau also seem to own land or houses away from Petite Ville before 1874 (PAA, Acc. No. 84.400 OMI Box 22 Item 738).

Not all the Métis took to farming quickly or easily. Even those who tried agriculture, such as Gabriel Dumont, participated in bison hunts throughout the 1870s (Giraud 1986b:411-418; Anick 1976:219-223). Some of these families may have delayed moving away from the *hivernant* settlement in the hopes that they could continue hunting. A few families may have remained at the old settlement after 1874, especially since Petite Ville was still within the St. Laurent colony boundaries. The abandonment of Petite Ville is an important consideration when discussing the archaeological record and this will be addressed later in the thesis.

3.6. The Location of St. Laurent Mission

It must be admitted that one cannot be absolutely sure that the initial St. Laurent mission was located at Petite Ville. Giraud (1986b:396) was the first to assume that they were at the same location. Unfortunately in the literature, it is unclear whether they are the same place. The mission was established at an existing wintering village. Unfortunately, several wintering villages occurred on the South Saskatchewan River (Giraud 1986b:396; Payment 1977:17). Some authors prefer to distinguish between the St. Laurent wintering site and Petite Ville (Payment 1977:17-18; 1979:86; 1990:31).

For the purposes of this thesis, it is believed that Petite Ville and St. Laurent mission were located at the same site. Petite Ville seems to be the wintering village in existence when the missionaries arrived. It was certainly large enough to attract their attention, especially when it was easier and more effective to establish missions at established settlements. It was common for the Métis to refer to their settlements as missions when priests joined them (Foster 1990:124). It would seem that "St. Laurent mission" became the preferred name for the Petite Ville wintering site. It is assumed that Petite Ville and the St. Laurent mission refer to the same location and are interchangeable until the spring of 1874.

3.7. The Population of Petite Ville

There are a number of estimates of Petite Ville's population. Giraud (1986b:396) states that 40 families were present in 1870 and they were joined later that year by Gabriel Dumont's band. The number of people in Dumont's band was not given. The Short Chronicle of St. Laurent disagrees, with only "a few families" present in the fall of 1870. That number grew to fifty families by the fall of 1871 (PAA Acc. No. 84.400 OMI Box 22 Item 738). Based on historical descriptions, Burley et al. (1992:45) estimated a total population of 40 to 50 families with no less than 240 people and possibly as many as 400, depending upon the wintering season.

The 1871 census of the "wintering camp of the St. Laurent mission" (GA, HF, Series 10, M477/150, see also Payment 1990:329-330; Hilderman Witty Crosby Hanna and Associates et al. 1993:Appendix 1) suggests that Burley et al.'s highest estimate was closer to the reality. There were 65 men, 58 women and 199 children present at the mission at the close of 1871; a total of 322 people. The two largest families, Dumont

and Paranteau [Parenteau], had 44 and 47 members respectively. Other common family names include Battoche [Batoche], Emlin, Gardupius, Moreau and Rassette [Racette].

Father Andre counted 50 families in the fall of 1871 but the census stated there were 65 male "heads of families." There are several possible explanations for the discrepancy in the numbers. Father Andre could have underestimated the number of families or more families could have moved to Petite Ville later that fall. The census may also have arbitrarily made more families if the single men listed were not truly "heads of families."

The 1870 population may have been quite a bit lower than the 1871 census total of 322, particularly since the village had just been established. The census would suggest that it grew quickly. The population would have fluctuated seasonally as the hunting brigades left and returned. During the 1872 and 1873 winters, the village population was probably very similar to 1871 numbers and possibly higher. The settlement was established and the presence of the mission encouraged newcomers to settle there – especially if they had kin present.

3.8. Descriptions of Wintering Villages

3.8.1. Wintering Villages

There are a number of descriptions of wintering villages and Métis settlements. Most of these descriptions are more informative than those describing Petite Ville so they will be discussed first. The following descriptions often describe only a small portion of a settlement but together they provide a reasonably detailed image of Métis *hivernant* settlements.

If the Métis were returning to a site, many of them already had homes that they could move into with a little work. Newcomers had to build. The first step was to select a site that was sheltered from the wind and had sufficient timber and water (D'Artigue 1882:125). Maple and poplar from the riverbanks were often used to create the log house (Giraud 1986b:396). Windows were covered in animal skins or parchment (Robinson 1972:255) and doors were made of axe-split logs bound with rawhide (D'Artigue 1882:125) on metal or leather hinges (Moodie 1965:114). The chimney was constructed of unfired mud and hay bricks with an open fireplace (D'Artigue 1882:125). It could also be made of upright logs that were plastered with mud (Anick 1976:103,

105) (Figures 3 and 4). One historical sketch shows a metal stove in front of a clay chimney (Figure 5). The floor could be of pounded earth or rough-hewn boards (Robinson 1972:46, 255; D'Artigue 1882:125; Anick 1976:103). The crevices in the log walls were plastered over with clay (D'Artigue 1882:125) and sometimes white-washed (Woodcock 1976:86). As the winter progressed, the plaster would crumble and fall into muddy piles around the foundation (Robinson 1972:45). Eventually it would have to be replaced. The roof was constructed of poles placed in rows and covered in earth and hay (D'Artigue 1882:125) or made of clapboards (Robinson 1972:45). The roofs could be flat (GA, HF, Series 9, M477/141) or have a slight pitch to them (Callihoo 1953:21-22).

The most detailed description of cabin construction was from a resident of the Lac Ste. Anne settlement in Alberta. Victoria Calihoo was Métis who had spent most of her life in Lac Ste. Anne. She was 93 years old when she was interviewed about *hivernant* life and would have been born about 1860 (Edmonds 1953:4). The village would have been similar to Petite Ville but slightly larger with more agriculture (Moodie 1965:88-89).

> Our houses were made of hewn spruce logs mostly. We had only two windows in them, no upper floors, no glass, but a rawhide skin of a calf, deer or moose calf was used. Only the hair would be taken off. It was put on the window while wet, and nailed on with wooden pegs on slats around the window. When dry, it would be taut and might be used as a drum. It was not transparent, but gave light. Though not as good as glass, it had one advantage, no peeping Tom was going to peep through your window. Therefore, window blinds were unnecessary.
>
> We had saws about eight feet long—they looked like ice saws – with handles at each end. A platform was built about ten feet above the ground. A log would be hoisted up and a man on top would pull the saw up, the man below would pull the saw down, sawing the log on the downward stroke. Lots of floors were made of hewed logs placed tightly together. Even doors were made of hewn logs. All the tools were supplied by H.B.Co. store. Rafters were made of poles about three feet apart, most of the roofs were one-quarter pitch. Then the builder would go into the forest to get bark from the spruce trees, the bark being taken off the tree during sapping time. The length of the bark would be six feet or so and the width vary according to the size of the tree. This burl, after it was taken off the tree, would be set flat on rails above the ground to dry.... the very best timber was within a mile of the Settlements... When the bark was dry in the fall, it was then laid on the rafters, lapping on top like shingles. The bark was then pinned

> down with long poles crosswise from the roof. Holes were bored in the pole and pins made of wood were driven tight, thus making a leakproof roof. The outer bark was laid outside. The inside roof was therefore smooth and glossy.
>
> As there were no stoves, open fireplaces were built in either corner from the door. We called these mud stoves. They were made of poles, mud and hay mixed, and more mud and water making a smooth finish. White clay was then mixed in water and rubbed all over with a cloth. When dry, this was white. Usually, two iron bars were hung about four feet from the floor. These bars were used to hang kettles on. We got these bars from the H.B. Store and also from old discarded guns. About a foot away from the mud stove, the floor was plastered down solid, a precaution taken so sparks would not ignite and burn the house. The open chimney was built about two feet above the roof so the sparks would not drop on the roof. On a windy night, sparks could be seen coming out thick, but the chimney being high they would drop on the ground harmlessly. The house was then chinked, plastered with clay, white-mud washed, a cellar door was made in the floor, and the house was ready to move into (Callihoo 1953:21-22).

A church, nunnery, school and grist mill were also present at St. Albert (Moodie 1965:79; Dawson 1979:153; Giraud 1986b:349). The priest's house was a pretty, white building surrounded by a garden (Moodie 1965:79).

Homes were erected quickly. The priest visiting the Wood Mountain settlement noted that

> ....ten or twelve days later, each family had its cabin erected with floors, ceiling, door, a fireplace and a chimney, where they spent the winter comfortably enough. When they had a priest, they arranged to build him a church and a house...As soon as the cabins were finished, the men and boys left for the hunt with carts they had made themselves...The elderly, the women, and children remained home. The elderly men and boys gathered and chopped wood, the women took care of the household and kitchen and scraped the skins. This scraping of skins was very long and very hard work (Reverend J.-J.-M. Lestanc as translated in Doll et al. 1988:22-23).

Robinson (1972:45-46, 255) described winterers' houses as being small, one-roomed affairs, 3.6 to 4.5 m^2 (or 12 to 15 feet squared). He noted that two-roomed dwelling occurred occasionally and generally belonged to the "better class." D'Artigue (1882:145) described a Métis home as "a single apartment, some twelve feet either way, which served as a parlour, dining-room, kitchen and bedroom." Gabriel Dumont's house (while not at Petite Ville proper) was built in the wintering style. His house had one room that was 6.4 x 5.5 m (21 x 17.5 feet) and an attached kitchen that was 4 x 4 m,

or 14 x 14 feet (Woodcock 1976:86). Dumont's house may be slightly larger than most – by 1872, he appeared to be creating a permanent home. The free trader of a wintering camp could also build larger structures. The size of his store varied with the amount of trade goods and was usually one room. Occasionally there was a second room (Robinson 1972:274-275; Anick 1976:156).

The interior of the home was illuminated by a pan of grease or tallow at the fireplace with a lit cotton rag as a wick (Anick 1976:103, 105). The furniture was limited – usually a bed placed in the corner and table. A few chairs might be present; wooden trunks and boxes served as seats, counters and storage. People were also content to sit on the floor (Anick 1976:103; D'Artigue 1882:145; Robinson 1972:46, 319). Blackened kettles were near the fireplace. Guns, powder horns and bullet bags were hung on the walls. The rafters were used to hang skins. Religious prints (an image of the Virgin Mary or the sacred heart) and a rosary were often hung on the wall over the bed. A few religious books or pamphlets might be present if a member of the household (usually a daughter) could read (Robinson 1972:46).

> We had no tables; because we didn't have them we didn't miss them; no chairs or benches. We ate on the floor. A canvass [sic] was spread with a white cloth on top; then the set was ready for the meal. We had a three-corner cupboard in a corner for our dishes. A cloth was hung over, for lumber was scarce and hard to make. We got strap-hinges and latches from the Posts. Others had wooden latches and wooden hinges. A hole was bored in a slab or board and another slab, with a tongue in the end, would serve as a hinge. They were very squeaky. Our pots and dishes were from the H.B.Co. The pots were made of copper and they were seamless. We had eight gallons to two-pint pots. They were very useful and stood rough usage. When a pot was bumped it was easy to hammer it back to its proper shape.
>
> There were no beds; everyone slept on the floor. All bedding was gathered, folded and placed in one corner of the house in the day time. Big pieces of slab wood would be placed, standing up (perpendicular), on the mud stove. Usually, coals of fire would still be burning in the morning. The fire from the mud stove would give a glow, providing both heat and light. We had no lamps, nor candles, so after a few years we made our own candles. Our bedding consisted of duck and goose feather for mattresses and pillows, and buffalo robes and H.B.Co. four-point blankets (Callihoo 1953:22)

Many activities were completed outside the home. Around the settlement, evidence of the last hunt was usually visible with

> ...wrecks of buffaloes lying everywhere around; here a white and glistening skull, there a disjointed vertebra but half denuded of its flesh; robes stretched upon a framework of poles and drying in the sun; meat piled upon stages to be out of the way of dogs; wolf-skins, fox-skins, and other smaller furs, tacked against the walls of the huts, or stretched upon miniature frames hanging from the branches of trees; dusky women drawing water and hewing wood.....(Robinson 1972:254-255).

Houses were not the only buildings in the settlements. Smaller buildings, such as stables, could be clustered around the home. Meat and fish were stored in large semi-underground icehouses (Woodcock 1976:87), on scaffolding (Steele 2000:94) or in ice caches (Robinson 1972:286). The ice caches were often used to store the meat from smaller winter hunts at the settlement or where the kill took place. Logs and snow were used to cover the meat. Water was then poured over the cache. The resulting ice was adequate to keep most animals from getting the meat.

Native families were often present in Métis settlements. Indian lodges and tipis were usually found towards the edge of the camp. Around the tipis, trees were used to store things, like meat, snowshoes and sleds, out of the reach of the many dogs present. Families were usually large – up to fifteen people could share a tipi (Robinson 1972:271).

There are two photographs of Métis homes at Wood Mountain, taken between 1872-1874. One of the images shows two houses as well as the surrounding yard. Red River carts were stationed near the houses and a tipi is present (Figure 6). A close-up of the houses can be seen in Figure 7. The other photograph shows a Métis home that seems to be a long rectangle divided into three rooms (Figure 8). Each room seems to have a separate entrance and a glass window seems to be present in the middle room. A possible metal stove is located to the left of the first door. There also seems to be a partially-constructed building at the far right. The yard seems to agree with Robinson's description of bone strewn everywhere.

One description contradicts many of the others. It describes a Métis home near Willow Bunch:

> ...one of those primitive houses built 40 years ago. It consists of two rooms linked together by a corridor. The first room served as a dining and living room while the corridor was used as a kitchen and the other room as a bedroom (Rondeau and Chabot 1970:31).

Figure 3: Interior of Labeucen's Stopping Place, 1913. The clay chimney was so efficient it continued to be used into the 20th century. Photo courtesy of the Glenbow Archives NA-493-6.

Figure 4: An 1860 Metis dance at Pembina. Note the clay fireplace. Photograph courtesy of the Glenbow Archives , NA-1406-23.

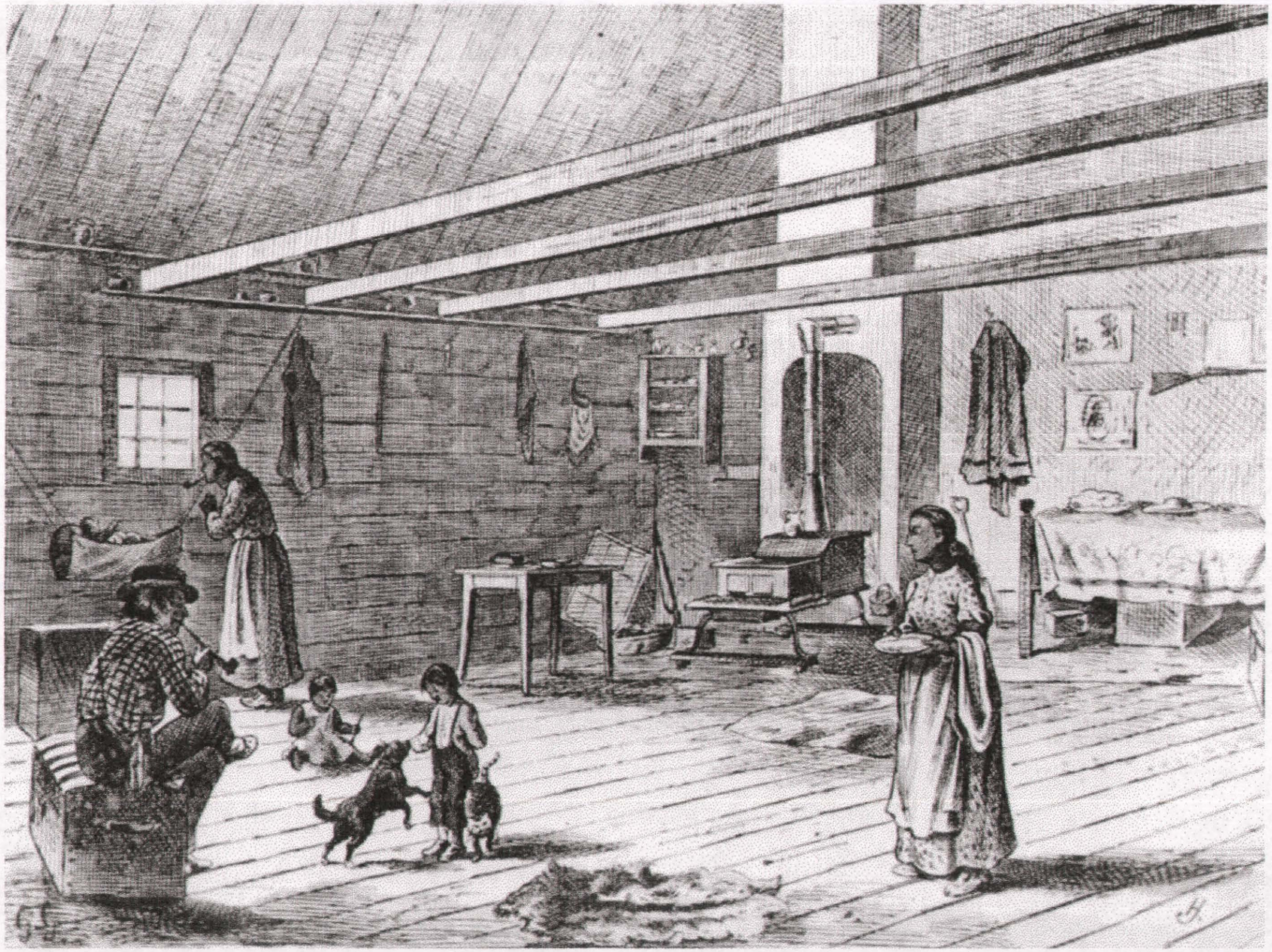


Figure 5: The interior of a Metis house, sketched by Henry Julien on the 1874 NWMP trek west. Notice the lack of furniture and the metal stove attached to a clay chimney. Photograph courtesy of the Glenbow Archives, NA-47-10.

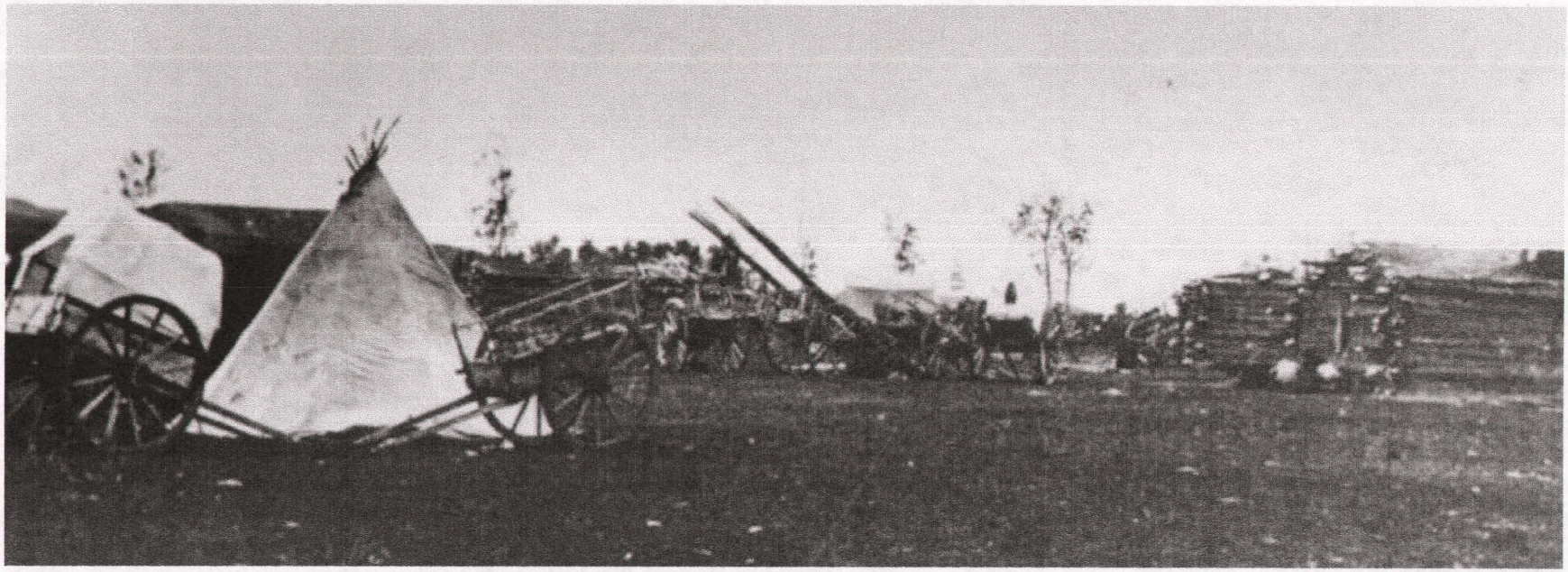


Figure 6: Metis settlement at Wood Mountain, 1872-1874. Photograph courtesy the Provincial Archives of Manitoba, N14103.

Figure 7: Close-up of the houses from Figure 6. Photograph courtesy the Provincial Archives of Manitoba, N14103.

Figure 8: Hivernant home from Wood Mountain, 1872-1874. Photograph courtesy of the Provincial Archives of Manitoba, N11946.

Other descriptions of Métis homes agree that rooms were multi-purpose and there were no separate sleeping quarters. There are references to separate kitchen additions in Métis homes but it is unknown what the author meant by a "corridor".

It is unknown why this description does not agree with the others. Perhaps the building is unique or perhaps it was built slightly later than the author believed. The structure might have been a converted hivernant home with additions. By 1880, most of the hivernants had turned to agriculture and were building larger, more complex houses (Payment 1977:10-12). This could account for the single-purpose rooms and seemingly more complex structure described by Rondeau and Chabot. However, since the description is unique, more weight will be placed on the previous descriptions of Métis homes.

3.8.2. Petite Ville

Three descriptions of Petite Ville can be found. While not quite as detailed as the above, they certainly add to the image of life at the settlement. Father Andre wrote the following description of Petite Ville. It does not provide much information about the physical nature of the site. Instead, Father Andre described the good will of the people and their piety.

> This new mission was begun in the autumn of 1870. Several Métis families established on the south branch of the Saskatchewan twenty-five miles from Carlton wanting to have a priest among them, sent by unanimous agreement one of their people to bring back a priest from Ile a la Crosse. Father Moulin from this mission will spend the winter amongst these brave people, and his presence amongst them will create much good. The idea of founding a permanent mission at this place was not yet consented to, and Father Moulin left his good "wintering over" people to go to Caribou Lake where obediency sent him. However, Bishop Grandin, full of solicitude for the spiritual well-being of the numerous families left without the support of our saintly religion, designated, in the spring of 1871, Father Andre, resident of St. Albert, to replace Father Moulin and to accompany onto the prairie those of the "wintering over" brigade that were leaving for the hunt. After having spent the summer on the prairie, Father Andre returned to St. Albert to pick up a companion. Bishop Grandin had chosen Father Bourgine as companion and auxiliary for him and these two missionaries arrived at their destination October 8th. The people full of good faith enlarged the provisory [provisional?] church and built a new house to serve as residence for the missionaries. Fifty "wintering over" families came to group themselves around the missionaries and that winter was agreeably spent by everyone. The fervour and piety of the Christians established in this wintering camp largely consoled the two missionaries.

> The fidelity of the people for morning mass and evening prayers as well as daily instruction represented the image of tranquility and piety of a religious home. Peace and harmony has been constant ruler at all times in this small community (PAA, Acc. No. 84.400 OMI Box 22 Item 738).

In 1872, A. Blaireau from Fort Carlton wrote a letter to the *Manitoban*, expounding the virtues of Petite Ville. His description was quite positive and endorsed Petite Ville as a good place to live. This was unusual – most other European writers were appalled at the living conditions in the camps. However, Blaireau was motivated to write a positive letter. He was trying to attract more Métis to Petite Ville in order to increase the HBC's trade. Regardless of his intentions, the description detailed many aspects of life at Petite Ville. Families often lived together. The homes were very similar to those at St. Albert in size and construction. Interestingly, there appears to be little individuality in the houses' exteriors.

> This settlement is mostly of a temporary nature, in fact. A wintering camp numbering from forty to fifty rough hewn, flat-roofed cabins which notwithstanding their hirsute exterior, are warm, comfortable abodes. The shanties are fac similes [sic] of each other, and in their erection the primitive style of architecture certainly predominates. Each house is one apartment in which from one to two families reside. A huge chimney takes up no small space of the exterior and when crammed with wood shows[?] a cheerful general warmth through every cranny and nook of the dwelling. The doors are a rough framework of wood over which is tightly stretched a Buffalo parchment skin. The windows are of the same material answering the twofold purpose of excluding the cold air and serving as not a bad substitute for glass in lighting the capacious chamber. Yet these humble roofs shelters brave, honest, loyal hearts, each in all their dealings are the souls of rectitude and honor (GA, HF, Series 9, M477/143).

Father Petitot described the houses at Petite Ville in less glowing terms. The priests believed that Father Bourgine's health was affected by living in such a place.

> Just fancy a long hut without gables, like a gigantic coffin, having by way of a door a piece of bison parchment, stretched on a frame, with windows of the selfsame parchment, and a roof consisting of poles laid flat, and covered over with hay and earth, with the growing season has transformed into a picturesque garden of wormwood and willowherbs [sic], in the midst of which a fine willow has the boldness to stimulate a steeple (Le Chevallier 1930:24).

The last two descriptions agree that the dwellings at Petite Ville had flat roofs, made of earth and hay laid on top of poles. The windows and doors were both made of

parchment. No window glass appears to have been present. Chimneys seem to have figured prominently in the houses. The priests were "nearly frozen" in winter although they had an "enormous stove which occupied the centre of the cabin" (Le Chevallier 1930:24).

Petitot does not state how many rooms were in the long "hut" but Blaireau believed each house had one apartment. A home and church for the Oblates were present and built by the Métis. It is unknown what, if any, differences exist between the *hivernant* homes and the Oblate structures since the Métis constructed all of them.

There are a large number of unknowns about Petite Ville even with these descriptions. No details were provided on the interior decorations of the dwellings. The nature of the floors, the dimensions of the buildings or the presence/absence of any outbuildings were not included. Hunts were beginning to fail between 1870 and 1874 (Anick 1976:164; Giraud 1986b:411-413). However, there still must have been some storage buildings or facilities for the products of the hunts. Stables and corrals were unmentioned but there were a large number of horses present at Petite Ville (577 in 1871 [GA, HF Series10 M477/150]). There may have been rough shelters and a grazing area. The Red River carts must also have been stationed on site, probably near the owner's home. No information was provided on the organization of the village. Are there communal buildings? Or communal areas for woodcutting? Buildings that belonged to individuals or extended families? There are still many unanswered questions about the *hivernant* village of Petite Ville.

3.9. Petite Ville Trade

It is well known that the Métis could travel far and wide in their search for the bison herds. Their experiences as freighters, explorers, guides and provisioners led them all over North America (Giraud 1986b:404-405; Woodcock 1976:24, 37, 39-40). It is not as well known how far they would commonly travel for trade. Woodcock (1976:72-73) suggested that by 1860, Gabriel Dumont was doing more trade in the west than he was at Red River. Dumont's influence suggests that other Métis in the Saskatchewan District would follow his example.

According to Chief Trader L. Clarke of Fort Carlton, in January 1872, the Métis at St. Laurent mission (including relatives of Dumont) were concerned that Carlton did

not have enough trade goods to supply all their needs. They still made an annual trek to Fort Garry to do a lot of their trading and some of the trade also went to other Winnipeg merchants. Clarke wanted an increased shipment of goods so that the HBC could shift the majority of trade to Fort Carlton. This would cut off the trade going to Winnipeg merchants and make the HBC supreme (GA, HF, Series 11-1 M477/154).

As late as 1882, it would appear that the Métis were still obtaining a large portion of their goods from Red River instead of the closer Fort Carlton. It is unknown if Clarke's demand for an increased inventory was fulfilled; the Métis could have continued trading with Winnipeg merchants for several years. On the other hand, the Métis may not have had to travel so far from home to get the goods they wanted. The number of independent traders in the area increased sharply in 1875 (PAA, Acc. No. 84.400 OMI Box 22 Item 738). Perhaps the lack of goods at Carlton was compensated with goods from independent traders. The nomadic habits of the Petite Ville Métis certainly suggest that the trade goods found at the site could come from a wide variety of sources. However, by 1872, it seems likely that the majority of the goods are coming from two locations: Fort Carlton and Red River.

CHAPTER 4: ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND OF PETITE VILLE

4.1. Introduction and Previous Work

The first archaeologist to visit Petite Ville was Paul Donahue in 1975 as part of the Parks Canada research program at Batoche (Burley et al. 1992:46). This led to a formal survey in 1979,which recorded 28 depressions which were grouped into six clusters. The brush made surveying difficult and little work was done on the north and east portions of the terrace. It was recognized that more than six structures should have been present at the site based on Father Le Chevallier's estimation of 30 huts. Rifle pits and an old trail were also recorded (Grainger and Ross 1980:3, 5, 6).

Petite Ville was revisited in 1986 by David Burley and crew as part of a larger study on Métis settlements. They surveyed the area extensively and noted 177 features clustered in 26 locations (Figure 9). Most of the site features were located at the northeast end of the river terrace. The site was found to cover about 80 hectares of land (Burley et al. 1992:46-47).

Cluster A (Figure 10) was chosen for testing since it incorporated the largest range of feature types of the site. It contains 16 cultural depressions and two large mounds spread over a large area, approximately 45 x 30 m (Burley et al. 1992:51). The depressions vary in size and shape. The smallest depression is only about 1 m in diameter whereas the largest is 6 m in length. Most are a minimum of 0.5 m deep. The mounds are approximately 1.5 m in diameter and 0.5 m high.

Seven depressions and two mounds were tested in 1986, as well as other areas of Cluster A. The researchers worked to locate structural features that would assist in functional interpretation. The identification of two chimney features in close proximity to each other led to the interpretation of a two-room structure. The presence (and absence) of sills and construction materials led to an estimation of the structure's length between 8.5 m to 9 m and its width between 5.5 m and 6 m. The estimated floor space was between 46.75 and 54 m^2 (Burley et al. 1992:52, 54-55).

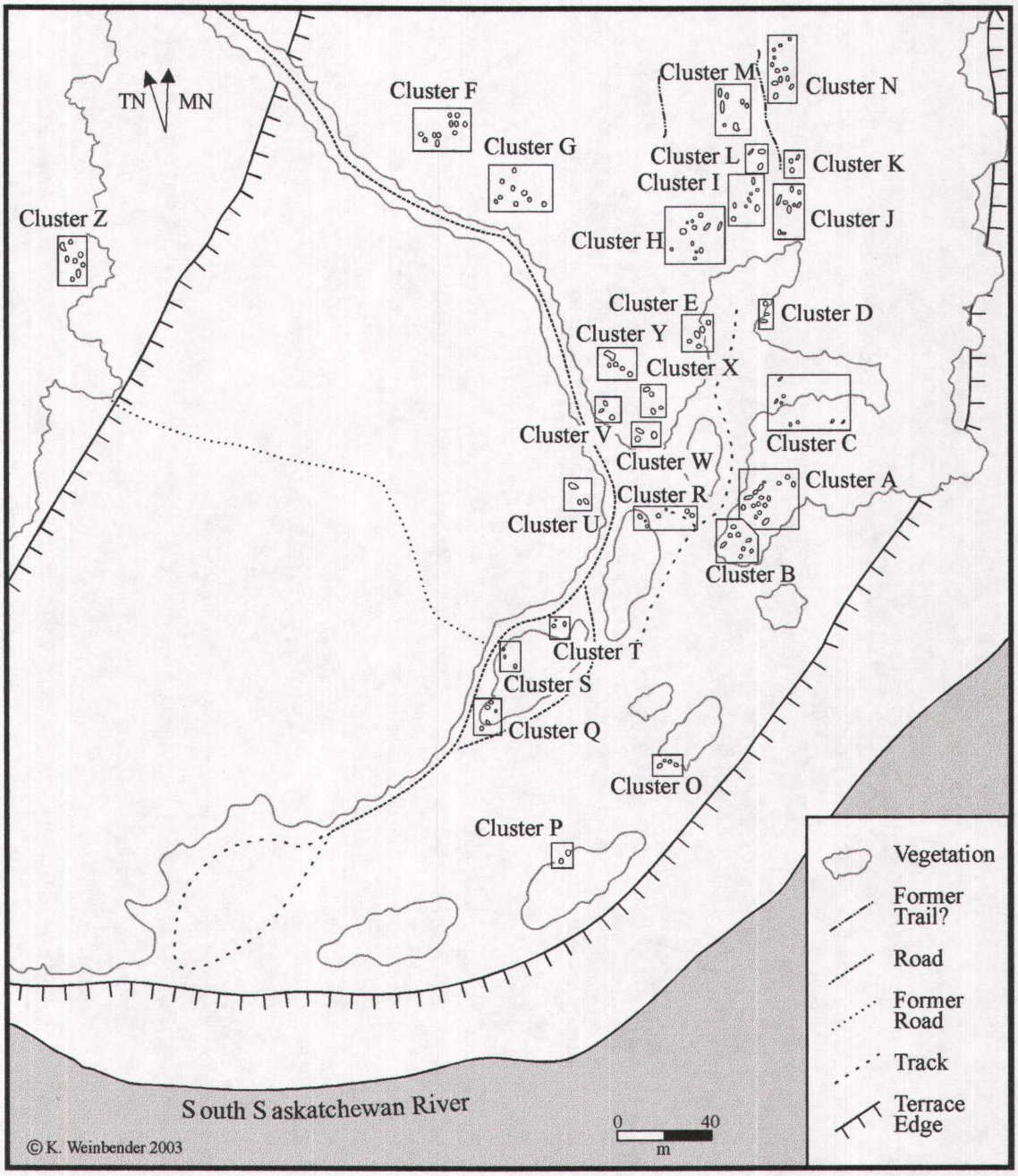


Figure 9: Location of the clusters at Petite Ville. Adapted from Burley et al. (1992:44).

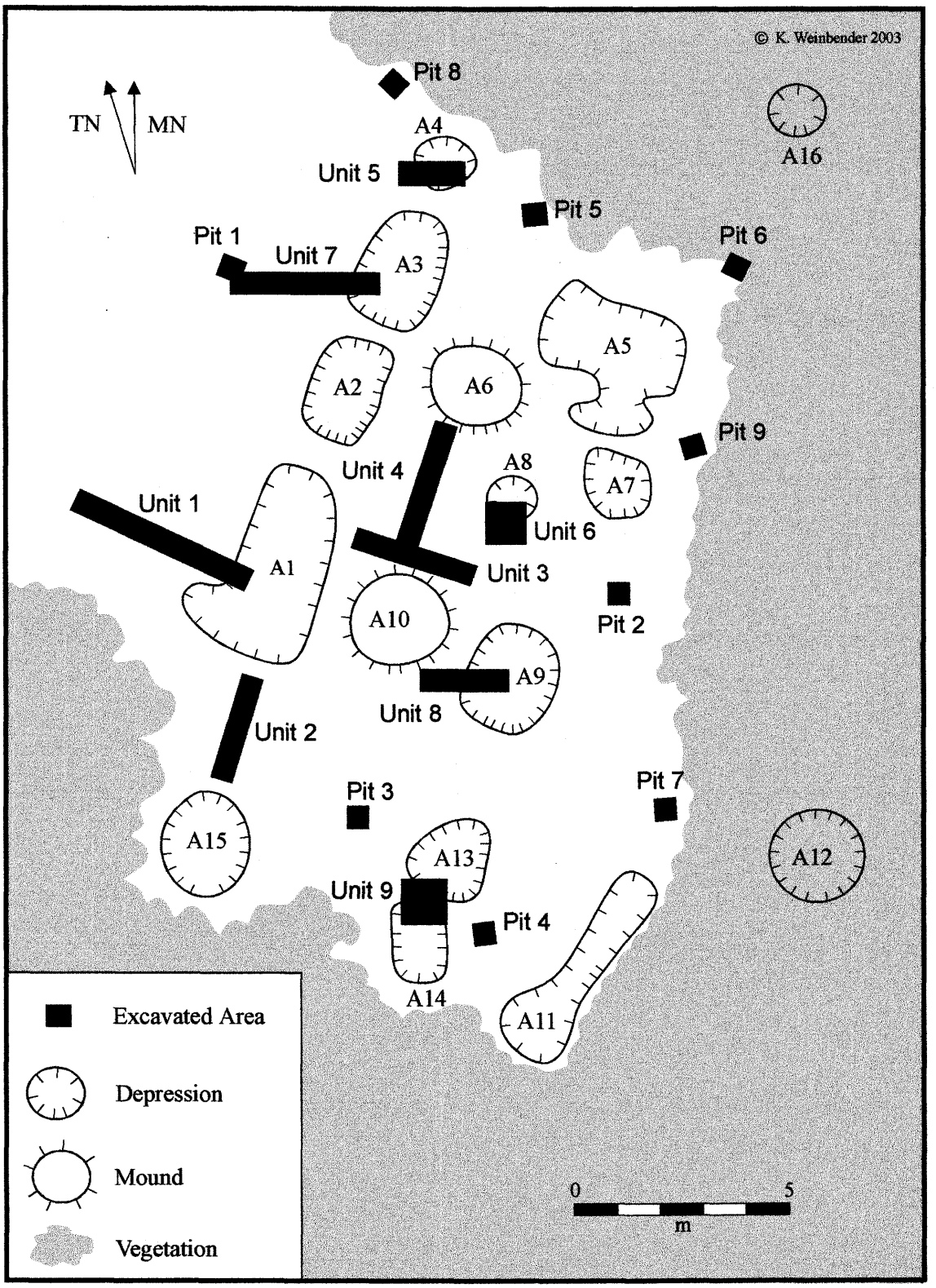


Figure 10: Features of Cluster A and the 1986 excavations. Please note that some of the outlying features are not shown. The 1986 limits of the vegetation are shown - much of the vegetation around Cluster A has been removed. Based on Burley et al. 1992: Figure 13.

A total of 196 artifacts and 690 pieces of faunal material were recovered. Burley et al. (1992:55) remarked on the paucity of architectural material recovered at Petite Ville (Table 1), in comparison to most historic sites (only 11.2% of the entire assemblage). Kitchen and household activities were also poorly represented (10.2%) but they did include earthenware ceramics with four different Spode/Copeland transfer print patterns. The miscellaneous category contained six ferrous fragments (3.1%). The arms category (16.8%) was dominated by lead shot but cartridges, a gunflint and lead sprue were also present. Personal artifacts dominated the assemblage (45.4%) and consisted mostly of beads. Precontact materials accounted for 13.5% of the artifact assemblage (Burley et al. 1992:55-57).

A precontact layer was noted as a dark organic band located 10 cm or more below the historic component. The strata appeared heavily disturbed by Métis construction and the precontact materials associated with historic features were interpreted as intrusive (Burley et al. 1992:55).

4.2. Excavation Methodology of the Field Schools

New work began on Cluster A at Petite Ville in 1998. Archaeological excavations were done by University of Saskatchewan students (enrolled in the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology field schools) and by volunteers (Figure 11). Dr. Margaret Kennedy supervised the three field school excavations in 1998, 1999 and 2000. The author (with Dr. Kennedy's assistance) conducted additional excavations with volunteers in 1999 and 2000.

The amount that was excavated each year was highly dependent upon field school enrolment and volunteer availability. In 1998 and 1999, there were full field school enrolments and 22.0 m^2 and 17 m^2, respectively, were excavated. In 2000, there were six students; 8.75 m^2 were excavated. The volunteer excavations were limited by volunteer availability and by transportation (I could only take 5 people at a time unless someone was kind enough to donate their vehicle). The volunteers excavated 7.5 m^2 in 1999 and 6.75 m^2 in 2000. Together, the excavations over three years totalled 62.0 m^2.

In 1999, all the units were placed based upon Burley's findings in the 1986 test pits, i.e., in an area where there were positive finds. Burley also believed that this area was the interior of a structure. The main goal of the 1999 excavation was to learn more

Table 1: Summary of the Petite Ville artifact assemblage from the 1986 excavations. Based on Burley et al. 1992:Table 2.

Functional Category		Quantity	Percentage of Assemblage
Architectural		**22**	**11.2%**
	Machine cut nails	19	9.7%
	Miscellaneous metal	3	1.5%
Kitchen		**14**	**7.1%**
	Ceramics	8	4.1%
	Miscellaneous glass	3	1.5%
	Lead foil	3	1.5%
Household/ Activities		**6**	**3.1%**
	Writing slate	3	1.5%
	Miscellaneous	3	1.5%
Personal		**89**	**45.4%**
	Beads	79	40.3%
	Buttons	8	4.1%
	Miscellaneous	2	1.0%
Arms		**33**	**16.8%**
	Lead shot	29	14.8%
	Cartridge	2	1.0%
	Gunflint	1	0.5%
	Lead sprue	1	0.5%
Miscellaneous/ Other		**6**	**3.1%**
	Ferrous fragments	6	3.1%
Aboriginal		**26**	**13.3%**
	Tools	1	0.5%
	Debitage	25	12.8%
TOTAL		**196**	

about the structure by finding architectural features and to learn about the site stratigraphy. It became clear that the units had been located in the middle of the structure so efforts were made in 1999 to find the building's corners and units were placed to the north and south of the 1998 units. Testing of features and the interior also continued. By the end of the field school, it was believed that the southern corners of the building had been found. Therefore, the 1999 volunteer excavations focused on following the west wall to the north and located the northwest corner. Two units were also established at the southern end of the west and east walls to get a better

understanding of the corners. It was discovered that the walls continued to the south so the 2000 field school focused on the southern portion of the building. The limited number of students meant that most units were placed to follow walls lines. Very little excavation was done in the interior. The field school ended with a possible southeast corner with being identified. The 2000 volunteer excavations continued following walls and verified that the eastern wall did indeed end. The southwest corner was also quickly located and effort turned to testing the interior. Unfortunately, the excavations of the southern interior were limited in scope because of time and volunteer availability.

The excavations adopted the old grid datum used in the 1986 excavations by Burley et al. (1992). One meter square units were identified by the coordinates of the northeast corner. Excavations were completed using a combination of trowelling and shovel-shaving. All dirt was collected and screened. Excavations stopped when a sterile level was reached below the historic Métis occupation, usually 30 to 50 cm below the surface. A thin black soil containing carbon was noted during the excavations, which marked the bottom of Métis occupation.

Initially in 1998, the mesh size of the screen was 6 mm (¼ inch). It was realized that smaller mesh was needed and two screen sizes were used. The remainder of the excavations screened the natural sod level through 4.5 mm ($^{3}/_{16}$ inch) mesh. The rest of the 5 cm arbitrary levels were passed through window screen which had a mesh size of less than 2 mm. The silty clay soil passed through the screen fairly well unless quite damp.

Wherever possible, three-dimensional provenience was taken on artifacts. Planviews were drawn of each level, recording features, soil types and artifacts. Photography was limited to interesting features, soil types and artifacts (which resulted in almost every level being photographed). At least one wall profile was recorded in each unit and photographed.

The assemblage from Petite Ville created some unique mapping problems. The entire assemblage is extremely small in size, with the bulk of artifacts less than 1 cm in length or diameter. The size of artifacts meant that the majority were found in the screens and lack three-dimensional provenience. Therefore, regardless of size, everything that was found in-situ was mapped on the planviews and given its own three-

dimensional provenience. There were several exceptions – a few areas had very large concentrations of artifacts. In these areas, the recording of in-situ provenience was not determined by size but by artifact importance or uniqueness. Some artifacts (especially beads or lead shot) were mapped as concentrations rather than as individual artifacts.

As mentioned above, the size of many artifacts meant that they were found in the screen. These artifacts were collected in artifact and faunal "frag bags." In 1998, units were not excavated in quadrants. Frag bag provenience was limited to the 1 x 1 m scale. From 1999 on, excavations maintained provenience with 50 x 50 cm quadrants in each 1 x 1 m unit. Frag bags were maintained for each quadrant of each level.

4.3. 1999 Survey

In 1999, a unique opportunity arose to re-examine the other clusters. Many of the clusters were located in brush and had been ignored since they were not part of the excavation plan. However, that summer the Petite Ville Restoration Foundation used a tractor with a large mower to remove much of the grass and brush. There was greater visibility of the ground's surface than there was during the 1986 survey (the crew had to deal with heavy brush). It was decided the opportunity to look for more features should not be ignored. The survey was meant to be a "quick and dirty" assessment of what the others clusters looked like, with the potential to do a brief recording of any new features.

Numerous low mounds were encountered with the mower, revealing brick-coloured soil. The mound noted at Cluster U1 in 1986 was affected (Figure 12), as was each new mound found in Clusters Q and V (now Q7 and V5). Q7 was located between Q5 and Q6 (Figure 13a). V5 was located between V1 and V4 (Figure 13b). These mounds are very low and would have easily been missed in 1986 with the large amounts of brush present. They indicate that that chimney remains at Petite Ville may not be easily recognized on the surface.

Three new depressions were found in Cluster O (05, 06 and 07) (Figure 13c). Many indentations were noted around Cluster T but they were so shallow that they were not recorded as depressions.

Two new clusters were also located, AA (four depressions and one mound) and BB (three depressions and one mound). This brings the total of clusters at Petite Ville to 28 and total features to 191. Cluster BB may also contain one more depression but it

was so shallow that it was grouped with the BB3 mound. Both clusters were found southwest of Cluster P (Figure 13d).

All of the new features were located with reference to old features. The distances and locations were paced off and are only approximations. Compass readings were also taken to locate the two new clusters in relation to other features.

4.4. Laboratory Analysis

All the artifacts and faunal material were washed after each season. Field school students were responsible for cataloguing the artifacts from their units as part of their field school analysis. Faunal material was placed in clean bags, boxed separately and left out of the unit catalogues since most students did not have the skills to sort and identify the bone.

The material excavated by volunteers was washed and sorted by several volunteers and myself. The faunal material was again separated and left unanalysed. Artifacts went through preliminary sorting and identification but were not catalogued.

All the artifacts were reanalysed and re-catalogued in 2001 by the author. An assistant was hired to sort and count beads before the cataloguing proceeded. The material was entered into an Access 2000 database that was designed by the author.

It was originally planned to include the faunal material in the analysis. However, the majority of the research questions were directed towards material culture rather than subsistence. Additional problems were encountered in hiring a faunal expert and the decision was made to exclude the majority of the faunal remains from this analysis. A small portion of the faunal remains was identified by Simone Hudon as part of an undergraduate class. She analyzed the faunal remains removed from one unit, 35N19W, and her findings will be briefly discussed.

Figure 11: The 1998 field school excavating at Cluster A. Looking southwest. Photograph by the author (unless otherwise stated all photographs are by the author).

Figure 12: The mower sliced the vegetated top off the U1 mound, exposing orange chinking and clay.

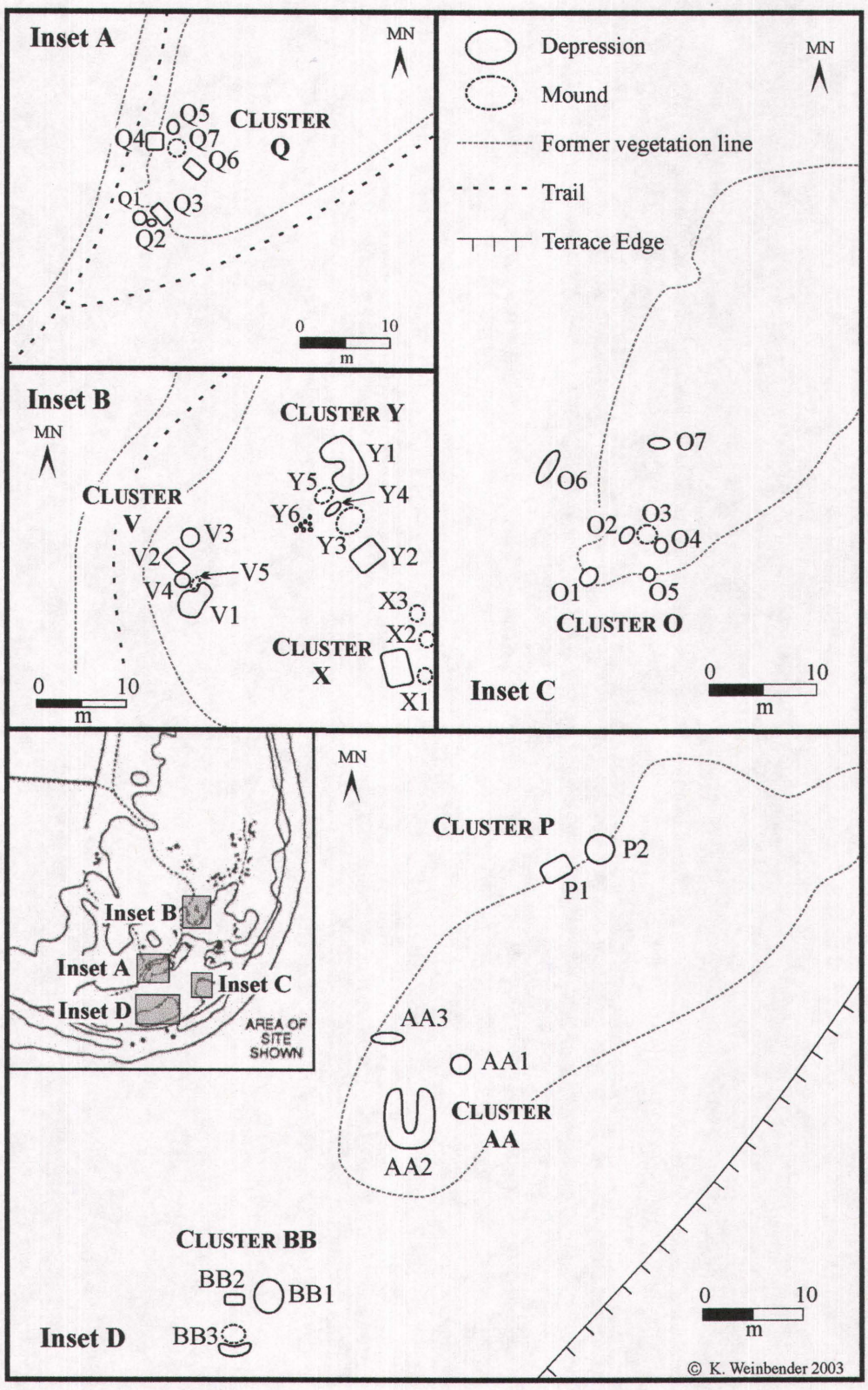


Figure 13: The new features and clusters located during the 1999 survey.

4.4.1. The Database

The database design allowed both faunal and artifact material to be entered. The goal was to create an easy-to-use database for historical sites with a minimum of precontact materials. The design included visual prompts and drop-down menus for the user so that a separate manual or complicated codes were not needed.

Artifact materials were entered into the catalogue based on artifact and material types. The artifact categories were Ammunition, Beads, Buttons, Ceramics and Nails/Pins. If an artifact did not fit into the above categories, it was entered into a material category: Faunal, Glass, Lithics, Metal, Organic (including wood, paper, cloth and leather) or Miscellaneous (including vulcanized rubber, chinking, plaster and unknown material). The reader might question why a separate bottle category (as well as others) was not included. While I hoped that others would find the database useful, one idiosyncrasy of the Petite Ville collection is the low numbers of bottles. For my purposes, a separate category was not required. However, the database will allow the addition of new categories.

The user begins at a Provenience Form which records block catalogue numbers, provenience, functional category and artifact type (Figure 14). A command button opens a second form based on the artifact type chosen. The second form allowed specific information to be recorded about that artifact. For example, the Bead Form recorded bead type and size (based on the Kidd and Kidd guide found in Karklins [1985:85-118]), material, colour and diaphaneity (Figure 15). The more general Glass Form recorded the artifact type (e.g., shard, bottle), colour, manufacturing process and the presence of manufacturing marks or decorations. Space was provided on all forms for additional comments. Measurements were done in both metric and imperial units, depending upon the artifact, e.g., nails were measured in inches and beads were measured in mm.

The functional classification scheme (found on the Provenience Form) adopted in this thesis was based on Sprague (1981) with one minor adaptation. The Domestic Items category was changed to Household Items. "Domestic" often brings to mind women and their activities. In reality, the category can include items from many different areas of the house which may not be under the sphere of women.

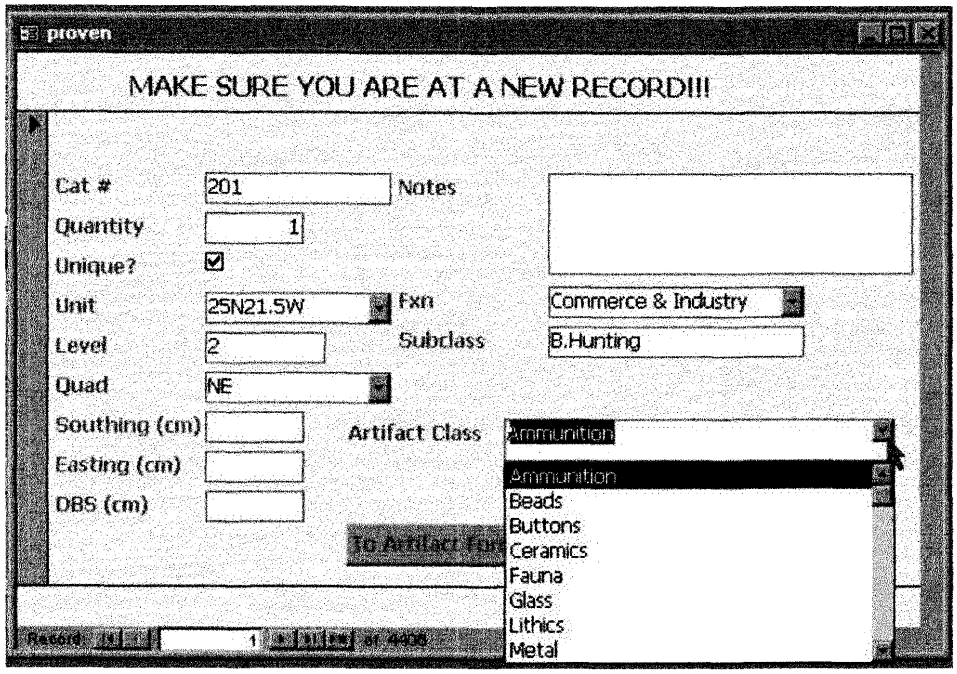


Figure 14: Screen shot of the provenience form in the database.

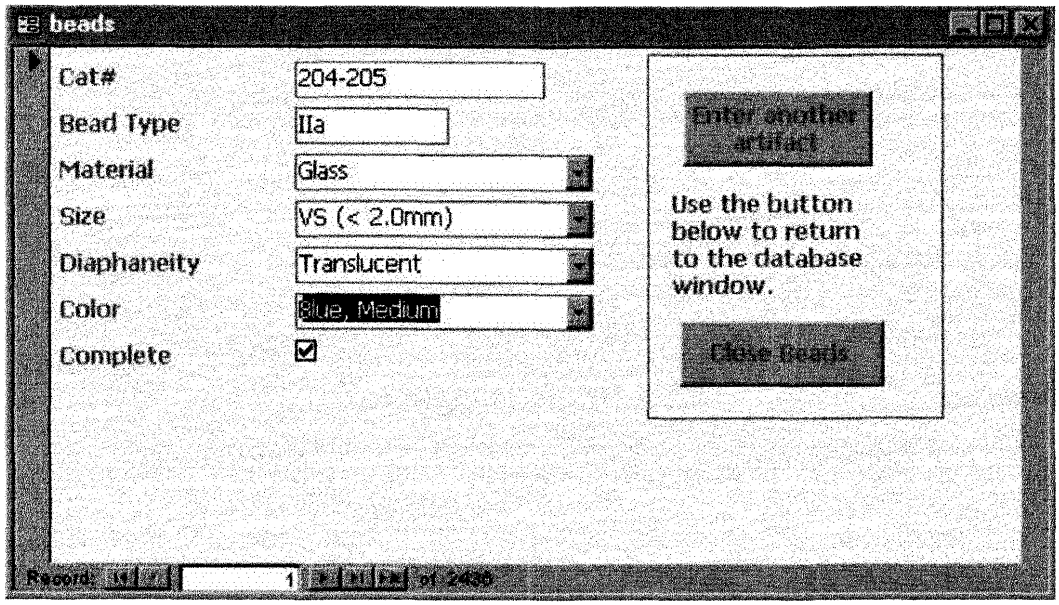


Figure 15: The database Bead form.

The change to Household Items was meant to diminish the unwanted inflection of gender. Readers might question retaining the titles "Transportation" and "Commerce and Industry" rather than utilizing "Animal Husbandry" or "Hunting." Transportation

was retained simply because horses and oxen were the main (and usually only) domesticated animals present at Métis sites. Animal husbandry did not occur in the typical sense. Horses and oxen were maintained primarily for transportation purposes such as moving Red River carts. Horses also served to transport their owners to bison herds. Therefore, a Transportation category was preferred over Animal Husbandry.

The Commerce and Industry category consists primarily of material culture related to hunting. Granted, not all the material would have been used to hunt bison but certainly that was the primary hope for the Métis when they originally purchased the materials. The use of Commerce and Industry (rather than Hunting) serves as a purposeful reminder of the economic and commercial importance of the bison hunt to the Métis. The robe trade has been compared to the proto-industrial era, or "cottage industry," in Europe by Ens (1996:72-63). The Métis were not unwitting victims in the capitalist fur trade; they were active, demanding participants (Ens 1996:5). The bison hunt and robe trade were organized as an industry and Métis hunters (with their families' assistance) were engaged in a commercial enterprise. The Métis did hunt to fulfill their subsistence requirements but the primary goal of most hunts was to create a tradeable surplus for commercial enterprises.

I agree with Sprague (1981:252) that functional categories provide a more meaningful order to the assemblage. This (hopefully) translates into a better assessment by archaeologists of the people and culture that used the items. It is understood that artifacts may have had different functions at the same time, over time, or both. Unfortunately, most functional classification schemes have difficulty dealing with these multiple functions and artifacts are reflected only in one category. For this study, artifacts have been classified into what seemed to be the most logical functional category, using the archaeological context. The bias that I have imposed on the assemblage is acknowledged. Hopefully, the bias is minimal.

CHAPTER 5: THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL FEATURES AND ASSEMBLAGES

5.1. Introduction

Based upon the 1986 excavations, the field schools were expecting to expose a small to medium sized structure, possibly with two rooms. Instead, researchers discovered that Cluster A contains the remains of very large building. It took the efforts of three field seasons to locate the corners of the structure which turned out to be 20 m long (twice as long as the original estimate). The width of the structure was found to narrow from 6.5 m at the northern end to 5.5 m at the southern end. Sixty-three square metres were excavated to expose the dimensions and interior of the structure (Figure 16).

At the time of excavation, the nature of the architectural remains created speculation about the impact of abandonment on the structure and to the site in general. The possible impacts of seasonal and permanent abandonment will be discussed before the archaeological features and artifacts so that the reader is consciously thinking about the impact of abandonment when assessing the archaeological data. The archaeological features will be discussed next, followed by descriptions of the artifact and faunal assemblages. The conclusions drawn from the data will be presented in the final section of the chapter.

5.2. Possible Impacts of Abandonment

Archaeologists have been studying the effect of abandonment on the archaeological record since the early 1970s (Schiffer 1976:88). There are different types of abandonment: episodic, seasonal and permanent. The abandonment may occur at the household(s) or settlement(s) level. Most importantly, the abandonment may be planned or unplanned (Tomka (1989) as cited in Brooks 1993:178). In the case of the Métis, planned seasonal abandonment was part of the *hivernant* lifestyle. In most cases, the Métis planned to return to their old wintering villages; on some occasions, their

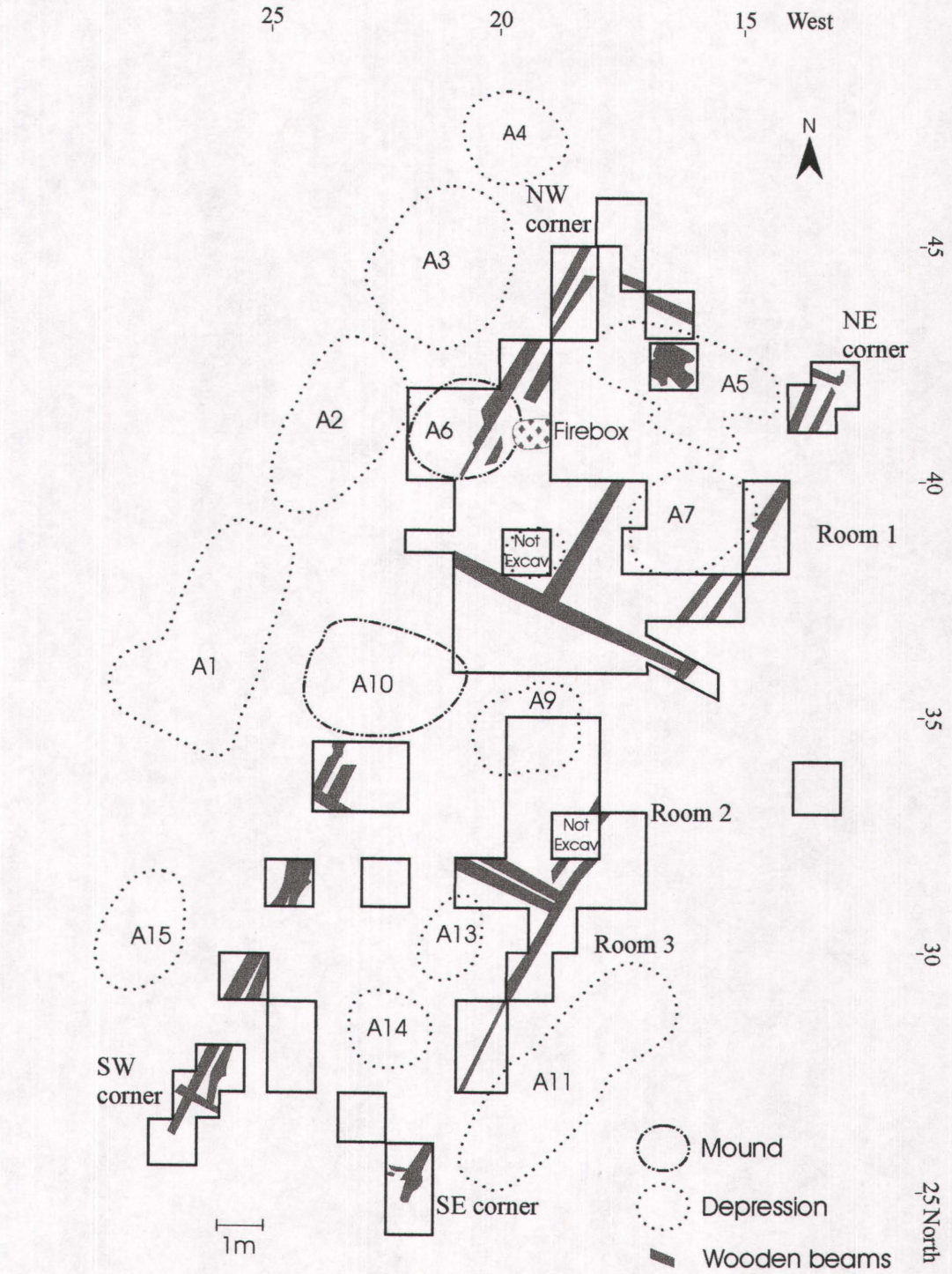


Figure 16: The excavations of the field schools revealed the foundation of a large structure.

return may have been delayed for several seasons, depending on the location of the bison herds.

The annual (expected) spring abandonment would have an important impact on the archaeological record. The Métis had the time to evaluate and choose which items they would take with them (e.g., curation) and which items they would leave behind (either in a cache of useable artifacts or as refuse). These choices are influenced by a number of variables, such as the ability to transport the item, the availability and expense of replacing the item in their new location, the condition of the item (new, damaged, repaired, broken) (LaMotta and Schiffer 1999:22; Tomka 1993:22-23) and even personal attachment to item (such as family heirlooms or a child's favourite toy). These choices are further influenced by an anticipated return to the site (Stevenson 1982:262-263). Artifacts such as tools or furniture that would be useful upon return may be cached or stored for future need – especially if they were considered easy to replace.

With this in mind, what might the Métis be expected to leave or cache at a *hivernant* site? By most accounts, they did not have large amounts of material goods. Perhaps the largest and most substantial items to be cached were their homes. They were left intact for returning Métis families. Perhaps other items such as roughly constructed benches or willow brooms (see Callihoo 1953:24) would have been left behind, or cached, since they would have been easily replaced. In all likelihood, the vast majority of functional, useful artifacts would have left with the Métis. Broken, irreparable items (like ceramic dishes or pipes or glass bottles) or exhausted items (like empty tin cans) would have been left as refuse. One might expect the archaeological assemblage of a Métis site to contain very few items because of the curation behavior. Those that are found will likely be broken (like ceramics) or exhausted (like empty tin cans) or perhaps too large to easily transport (LaMotta and Schiffer 1999:23). One might expect a higher artifact yield from sites that were seasonally occupied for a number of years and low yields from briefly occupied sites (Kent 1993:55).

While seasonal abandonment is a very important factor in *hivernant* sites, Petite Ville was also permanently abandoned. The archaeological record was influenced by both abandonment processes. For permanent abandonment, it is suggested that the most

important factor influencing the abandonment process is the need to establish a new residence elsewhere (Graham 1993:37). The decision to transport materials is affected by distance and transport abilities – even structures can be dismantled and taken if the new residence is within a reasonable distance (Cameron 1993:4-5; Graham 1993:37). Since no return is anticipated, discard behaviour, rather than storage behaviour, produces the site remnants. A planned, permanent abandonment should result in an assemblage of discarded objects, accumulated trash and a few items that were overlooked (Graham 1993:37). The assemblage would be further modified by cultural and environmental post-depositional processes like scavenging, children's play, weathering, decay, flooding and cultivation (LaMotta and Schiffer 1999:20-25; Schiffer 1987)

The permanent abandonment of Petite Ville must be considered when interpreting the archaeological record. The periods of seasonal abandonment probably resulted in some caching and storage. All these artifacts were probably removed when the Métis moved to the St. Laurent colony in 1874. The distance to St. Laurent was not far; some of the Métis farms were probably closer to the old Petite Ville settlement than the new colony. Since the settlements were so close, scavenging was probably very intensive. The archaeological record will likely contain very few artifacts that are not part of refuse deposits. The artifacts that are found will probably be highly fragmented, in a non-functional or exhausted state.

5.3. Architectural Features

There are 18 surface features associated with Cluster A. Of those, 12 depressions and two mounds were within the immediate vicinity of the excavations. The majority of architectural features were not visible on the surface, especially with the overgrown vegetation. After the site had been mowed in the fall of 1999, low, linear mounds could be seen that corresponded to the known wall lines. This proved helpful during the final excavation season.

5.3.1. Wall Lines

For the first two excavation seasons, vegetation effectively obscured any indicators of the structure's outline. Excavations revealed a lack of architectural remains, just as Burley et al. (1992:55) noted. Structural evidence, such as wood

remains or nails, was fairly limited. There was no evidence of collapsed walls or roof. The wood that was found was fairly degraded. Most of the wood present was in the form of linear wall lines with the occasional small piece found elsewhere. The wood had decayed to such a point that it was difficult to collect pieces larger than 1-3 cm in length. The wood of the wall lines had collapsed and decayed into a very thin veneer of wood dust about 1-2 cm thick and about 20 cm wide (Figure 17).

The decay of the wood was being hastened by the presence of thousands of tiny roots that appreciated the extra organic matter in the soil. The rootlets were often the first and best warning that wood was present, especially when they grew in a line (Figure 18).

For the most part, decay appeared to be the only impact on the wall lines. However, in two areas, there were additional signs of destruction through fire. The southern portion of the eastern wall became very thin (about 10 cm wide), with evidence of charring (Figure 19). The wall line became black with ash. The charring does not appear to continue to the southeast corner – it only affects a small portion of the wall line. Similarly, the east wall line around Mound A6 shows signs of burning over a limited area. This burning may actually be related to the Métis occupation since the charring is located near a chimney. However, both areas of charring are very limited in scope and the structure does not appear to have burned to the ground or suffered greatly from fire. In fact, the charred remains show an apparent lack of material – there was not a lot of wood to burn. The fire(s) probably occurred after abandonment but not before the wood was so decayed that it could not burn.

Wood samples were sent to the Centre for Wood Anatomy Research in Madison, Wisconsin for identification. One was identified as *Populus* (poplar and aspen) and the others were identified as *Populus* or *Salix* (willow) (Alex Wiedenhoeft, personal communication, August 6, 2001). Unfortunately, none of the samples came from the wall lines. However, the samples indicate that local materials were utilized for construction and the location of Petite Ville suggests that aspen and poplar would have been the most available species. It is reasonable to suggest that the walls were probably constructed out of poplar and aspen.

5.3.2. Depressions A1, A2, A3, A4 and A11

Three of these depressions (A1, A3 and A4) were tested in 1986. They lacked structural and artifact remains. Due to this and their large, irregular shapes, it was believed that they functioned as "mudding pits". Mudding pits would have been dug by the Métis to access deposits of clay necessary for chinking and chimney construction. The depressions A2 and A11 were identified as "mudding pits" because of their size and irregular shape. The large number and size of the pits suggest the building had been refurbished multiple times and therefore had been lived in for more than one year (Burley et al. 1992:54-55).

All five of these depressions have a northeast-southwest orientation and are located outside the structure. Four of the depressions extend along northern half of the structure, parallel to the western wall. A11 is the largest depression and it extends along the southern half of the structure, parallel to the eastern wall.

5.3.3. Depression A5

A5 was thought to be outside the structure in 1986 and its function was identified as an irregular shaped "mudding pit" (Burley et al 1992:54-55). The field school located one unit (43N16W) near the centre of the depression. It was excavated to a depth of 116 cm DBS. Large concentrations of organic reddish-brown dust with small pieces of well-decayed wood were found with increasing regularity towards 70 cm DBS. At 70 cm DBS, large pieces of well-preserved wood were found within a large quantity of wood dust (Figures 20 and 21). The pieces overlapped each other without a regular pattern.

The south half of the wooden base was removed and excavations revealed an extremely mottled soil (Figure 22). The brownish-grey silty clay soil contained many small pieces of black charcoal, grey ash, white clay and orange chinking. The dimensions of the mottled soil gradually diminished, ending in level 12, around 90 cm DBS. The soil seems to have lined the bottom of the historically dug pit and the charcoal fragments are perhaps the discards of an extinguished fire.

The unit contained 2103 artifacts (15% of the entire assemblage excavated from Petite Ville). The majority of artifacts were found in levels 7, 8 and 9 or between 50 and 70 cm DBS. Over 90% of the artifacts were found above the wooden base at 70 cm

DBS. The number of artifacts dropped sharply in the lower levels (only 154) and precontact materials were the primary artifact type recovered.

Brownish-grey silty clay was recorded around the edges of the wooden base and the mottled soil. The clay seems to have contained the majority of the precontact materials, including one small sherd of pottery. A second layer of grey silty clay (though slightly darker) was found beneath intermittent golden sand. The clay contained more precontact materials and disappeared by the end of level 13. The historical Métis pit appears to have cut through at least two precontact levels.

The interpretation of A5 as an exterior "mudding pit" no longer seems appropriate. The depression is clearly located within the structure's interior and its large artifact total suggests it functioned as a storage or refuse pit. The size of the depression suggests it was covered with a trap-door or flooring.

5.3.4. Mound A6

The feature was noted as a slight mound close to the centre of the west wall. The presence of a mound, with limestone rocks visible on the surface, resulted in the interpretation of a stone chimney in 1986. Field school excavations revealed the majority of the rocks occurred near the surface and located outside the structure, i.e., west of the west wall.

Between 20 and 35 cm DBS, orange soil with charcoal, grey ash and charred wood fragments occurred with increasing frequency in units 42N19W and 41N19W. By 38 cm DBS, the exposed rectangular firebox was composed of a white clay/mortar interior with an orange clay exterior. A layer of charcoal was visible under the orange clay (Figures 23 and 24). Two posts were located, along with two possible ones (Figures 25 and 26). No rocks were in direct association with the firebox.
The lack of rocks strongly suggests that this was not a fireplace constructed out of stone. The posts and clay suggest that the chimney would look similar to Figure 3 – a wooden frame plastered with clay. "Mud stoves" were made of wooden poles plastered with a mixture of mud and hay. Two additional layers of clay were added before the mud stove was complete. Mud and water was used to give the mud/hay mix a smooth finish and then white clay (mixed with water) was rubbed over it with a cloth. The last layer gave the stove a white finish when it dried (Callihoo 1953:21-22). Elliott

Figure 17: Cross section of wooden beam.

Figure 18: Very poorly preserved wooden beams through 38N15W, facing east. Note the roots. Photograph courtesy of Dr. Margaret Kennedy.

Figure 19: Charring along the southern portion of the eastern wall. Photograph courtesy of Dr. Margaret Kennedy.

Figure 20: Wood feature found in 43N16W.

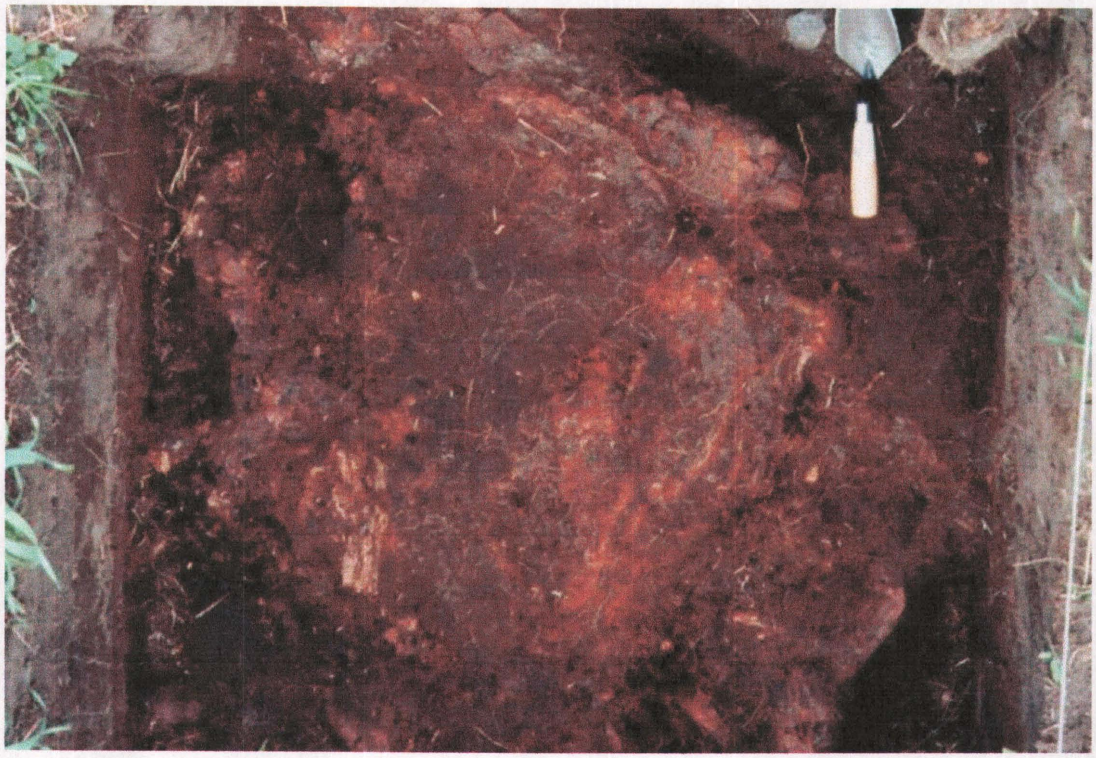


Figure 21: Close-up of the wood feature.

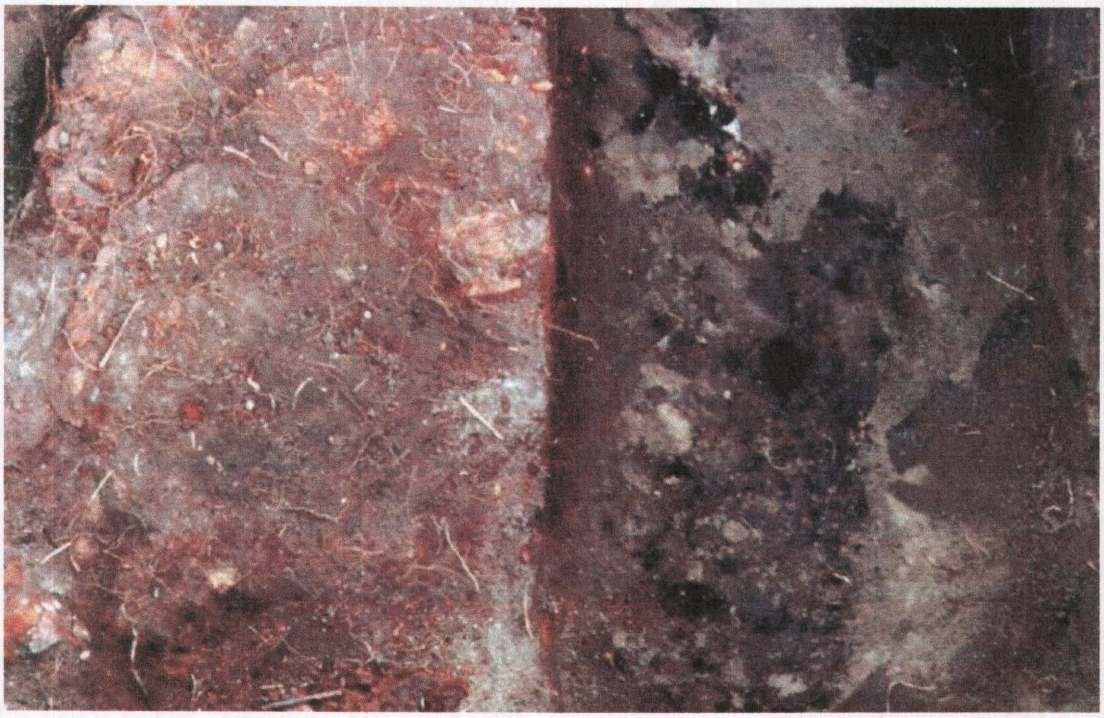


Figure 22: The mottled soil (shown to the right in the south half) that was underneath the wooden feature.

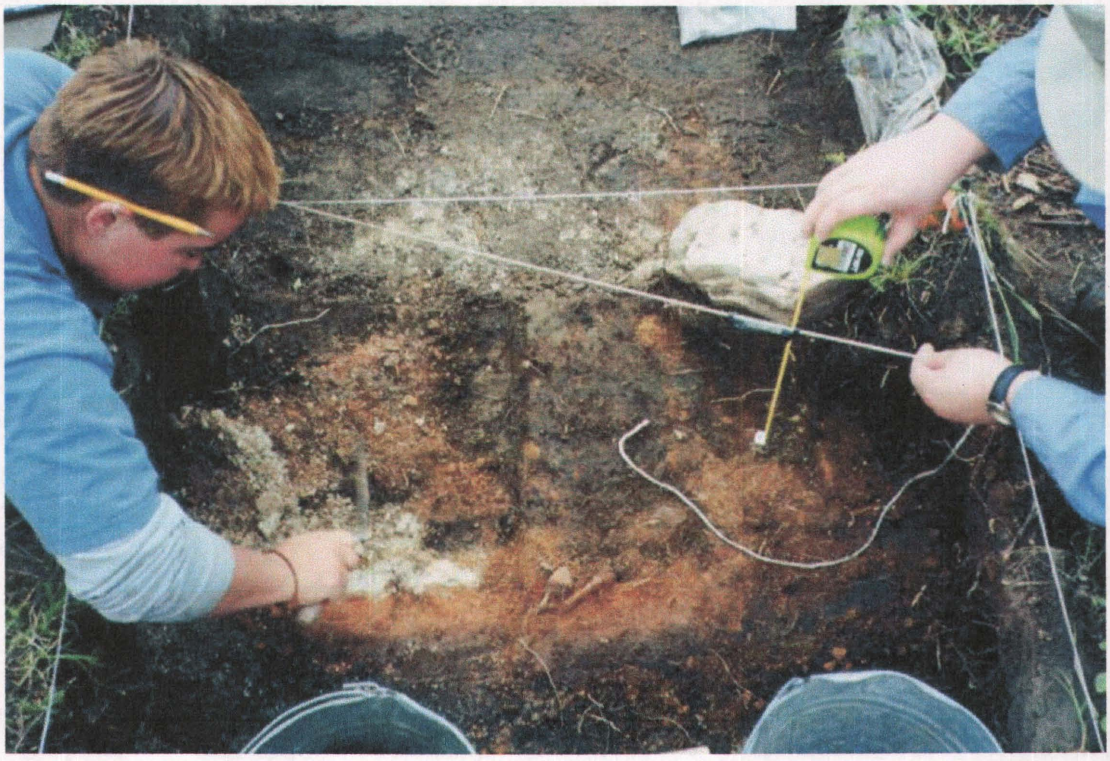


Figure 23: Top view of the chimney feature, looking north. Photograph courtesy of Dr. Margaret Kennedy.

Figure 24: Side view of the chimney feature, facing north. Note the charcoal at the base. Photograph courtesy of Dr. Margaret Kennedy.

Figure 25: A wooden post found in the NW baulk of 41N19W. Photograph courtesy of Dr. Margaret Kennedy.

Figure 26: Another post found near the chimney feature. Photograph courtesy of Dr. Margaret Kennedy.

(1971:26-27) noted similar fireplaces in the Cypress Hills while Burley et al. (1992:100) found them at Kis-sis-away Tanner's Camp and Four Mile Coulee.

5.3.5. Depression A7

The depression was not tested in 1986 or by the field school excavations. Students did not excavate the depression portions of units 39N17W and 40N17W. The depression portion of 40N14W (i.e., the west half) was not excavated below 14 cm DBS (level 2) since the primary goal was to track the east wall. The size and location of the depression suggest it functioned as a storage or refuse pit. The size of the depression suggests it was covered with a trap-door or other super-structure.

5.3.6. Depression A8

The small, straight-sided depression was tested in 1986. Unit 6 was excavated to a depth of 80 cm. Two layers of wood chips were encountered, along with abundant cultural and faunal material. Burley et al. (1992:54) interpreted the depression as a storage pit that was later filled with refuse.

5.3.7. Depression A9

The depression was tested in 1986; excavators found relatively homogenous fill with decomposing wood at 35 cm. The wood remnants led to the interpretation of a cellar feature covered by a floor. The test unit was excavated to a maximum depth of 45 cm (Burley et al. 1992:52, 54).

Three 1998 units encountered this depression: 34N19W, 35N19W and 35N18W. Excavations did not occur past level 4 (maximum depth 48 cm DBS) in 35N18W[1] or past level 7 in 34N19W. Instead, efforts were concentrated on 35N19W.

The east end of the 1986 test unit 8 was encountered in 35N19W and the fill was removed to a depth of 30 cm DBS. The bottom of the pit had been lined with plastic and the 1986 pins were still in place.

After excavating a very mottled soil (charcoal, grey clay, black staining), artifacts appeared in great quantities, especially between 48 and 51 cm DBS. Unlike 43N16W, the artifacts continue into all walls so the feature's boundaries are unknown. The mottled matrix was noted to have a higher organic content due to the presence of

[1] A 20 cm strip along its north wall was excavated fully but as part of 35N19W. The low artifact totals of these two units are misleading. The small amounts are the result of not excavating deeply enough rather than actually having no artifacts present.

decomposing wood. At 53-55 cm DBS, a sterile level of dense brown clay was encountered. Excavations ended at this level due to time constraints.

The feature contained 1799 artifacts or 12.8% of the entire assemblage excavated from Petite Ville. Its location and high artifact concentration suggests the feature functioned as an interior covered storage pit that may subsequently have been used as a refuse pit.

5.3.8. Mound A10

The 1986 test units 3 and 8 skirted the edges of the mound. They found "...burned ash, fired clay, chinking and other characteristic debris." The mound was believed to be a firebox/chimney (Burley et al. 1992:52).

The field school excavations did not include the mound so nothing further was learned about the mound's structure. Its identification as a firebox/chimney seems reasonable. There is a strong possibility that this chimney was also of wood and plaster construction, similar to A6.

5.3.9. Depressions A12, A15, A16, A17 and A18

None of these depressions have been excavated and their functions can only be speculated. A12 is located over 10 m east of the southern portion of the structure. A15 was located fairly close to the southwest corner of the structure. Neither are as large or irregularly shaped as the other depressions identified as mudding pits, although the possibility can not be ruled out. They also possibly functioned as outdoor storage and/or refuse pits. They could have been used to store anything from furs, meat, hides, supplies or various other foodstuffs.

Three depressions (A16, A17 and A18) are clustered fairly close together approximately 10 m northeast of the northeast corner of the structure. They are also smaller than the identified mudding pits but that function remains as a possibility. The distance between the depressions and the structure suggests several other possibilities. They may have served as individual storage/refuse pits – perhaps for more "distasteful" items that were better seen (or perhaps unseen) at a distance. They may also have served as privy pits since they are distant but accessible. They may also have been part of a semi-underground icehouse described by Woodcock (1976:87). The above speculations all assume the depressions were utilized by the family or families living in

the Cluster A building. This may not have been the case and the depressions may not be related to the Cluster A occupation at all.

5.3.10. Depression A13

This depression was tested in 1986 with Unit 9 which went to a depth of 60 cm. A13 was noted to be a shallow depression with a few artifacts present. No function was assigned to the depression (Burley et al. 1992:55).

The depression is situated in the southern interior of the structure and is less than one metre away from the depression, A14. Its location in the house interior suggests that it functioned as a storage and/or refuse pit. There are two explanations for the paucity of artifacts in the depression if it was used for storage or refuse. There may not have been many artifacts placed in it while it was used. However, given the quantities of artifacts found in the other storage/refuse pits, this does not seem likely.

Alternatively, the placement and depth of the test unit may be responsible for the lack of artifacts. The test unit was placed so that both A13 and A14 could be tested at the same time. However, it only caught the very edge of A13 and far more of A14 (Burley et al. 1992:51, Figure 13). The majority of the depression was not excavated and artifact concentration(s) could have easily been missed. The test pit also may not have been excavated deep enough. The pattern of finding a few artifacts and then finding a major concentration has been fairly consistent in the other tested depressions. A few artifacts were found in A13 but excavations stopped at 60 cm. Another depression (A5) has already demonstrated that artifact concentrations can be as deep as 70 cm DBS.

5.3.11. Depression A14

The depression was tested in 1986 to a depth of 60 cm with Unit 9. The steep-sided depression contained artifacts and wood remains. It was hypothesized to be a storage pit later used for refuse disposal. It was also thought that some sort of superstructure would have been used to cover the pit (Burley et al. 1992:55).

The 1986 interpretation placed the depression outside the structure. It was now apparent that A14 was within the structure's interior. It is the most southern feature within the structure and is very close to depression A13. Since no further excavations were completed, no additional information can be added to the 1986 interpretation.

5.3.12. Discussion

The exterior limits of the house are straightforward based on the archaeological remains of the wall lines. This is a large house with a length of about 20.5 m (measuring from the north to south wall, not including the log extensions of the east and west wall lines) and a width that narrows from 6.5 m at the northern end to 5.5 m at the southern end. The walls were likely constructed using local aspen and poplar species. The area of the building was between 112.75 m^2 and 133.25 m^2, which easily rivals the size of some modern homes. A structure of this size required a lot of lumber and other architectural materials. Yet, the archaeological excavations found little to no evidence of collapsed walls, roof or flooring. There was also no evidence that the entire building was burned to the ground.

The lack of structural remains suggests that the wood was scavenged, likely after Petite Ville was permanently abandoned. The structure contained a lot of pre-cut and useable lumber and was a valuable source of wood. The materials could have been used in new homes or other structures like storage sheds or icehouses at the St. Laurent colony. It could have even been used as firewood. The needs of 40-50 families for wooden homes, Red River carts and firewood must have had a severe impact on the surrounding trees and brush over four years. A source of wood would be nothing to scorn. It is speculated that excavation would show a similar lack of structural remains at the other Petite Ville clusters.

Blaireau described the Petite Ville homes as having one apartment in which one or two families would live together (GA, HF, Series 9, M477/143). However, the internal wall lines raise questions about that description. Three beams are present, going approximately east-west. Two of these beams are located less than 10 cm apart. A fourth beam is located in the northern portion of the interior, running approximately north-south, through the centre of the interior. The east-west beams raise the possibility of three rooms, each with the approximate length of 7 m. The width of the rooms would be between 6.5 m and 5.5 m. The similar dimensions suggest that perhaps the size of the trees available for construction placed limitations room size. If the fourth beam is also a partition remnant, then the northern area of the structure would have been divided into two rooms, each approximately 3 m x 7 m (Figure 27).

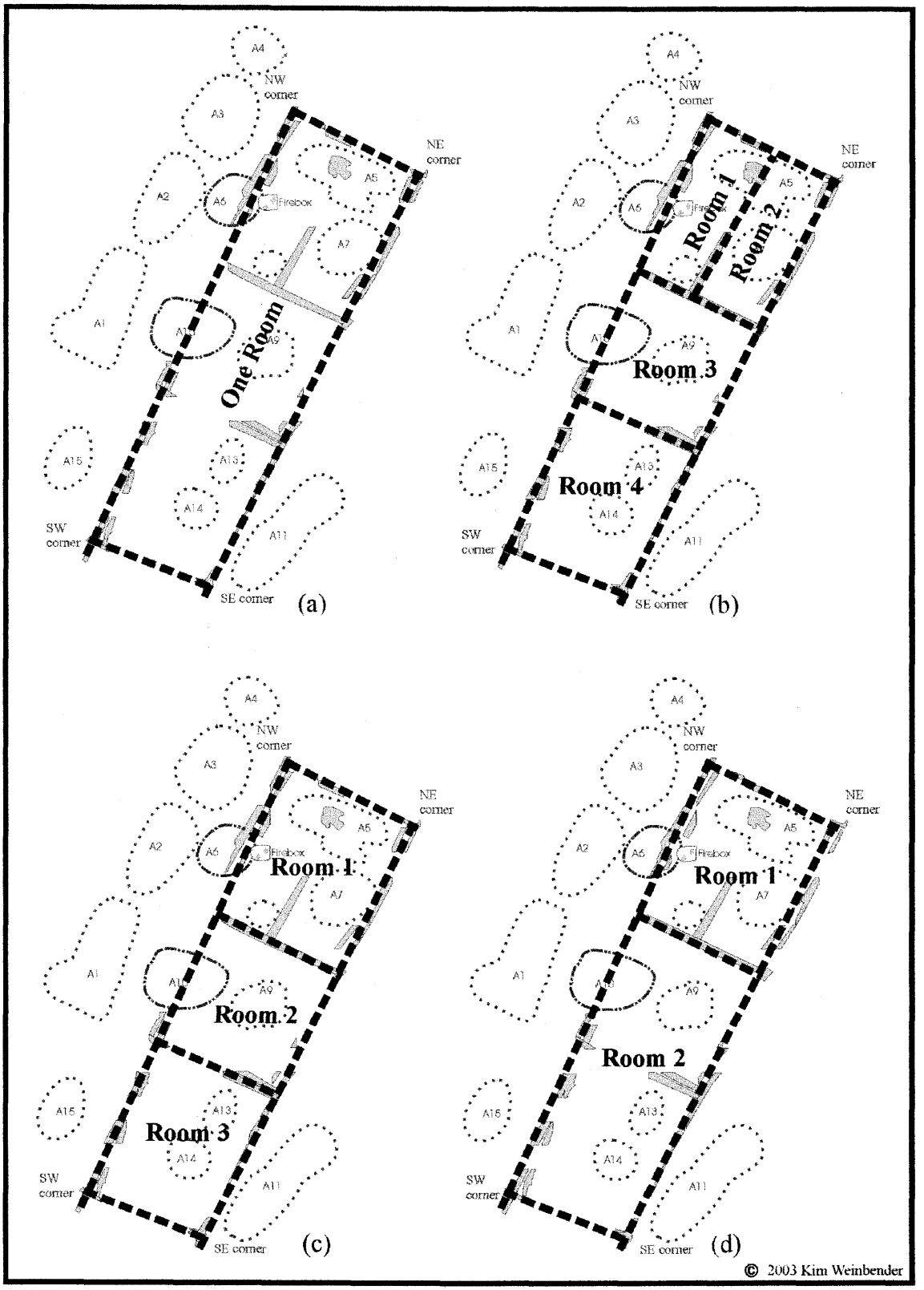


Figure 27: The possible internal divisions of the structure.

Burley et al. (1992:52) hypothesized that Cluster A had two rooms since there were two chimney mounds located less than 5 m apart. If the structure had been one large room, as described by Blaireau, the chimneys would not have generated much heat for the southern portion of the room. The largest problem with proposing three or four room divisions is that a portion of the house has no visible heat source. Only two chimney mounds were found and no evidence for alternative heating methods was seen archaeologically. This does not eliminate the possibility of using metal stoves which would have left little archaeological evidence, especially since it would have left with the Métis.

Based on the architectural remains, it is proposed that there were at least two rooms, and possibly three, in the structure. The author's personal preference is for three rooms for several reasons. Two heat sources suggest at least two rooms. A stove could easily have heated a third room since stoves were present at Petite Ville (Le Chevallier 1930:24). It is also possible that the third room was storage and did not require heat. The simple size of the structure suggests internal sub-divisions – if only to support the roof. Doll et al. (1988:123) believed that a 9 m x 4 m room was too large and should been subdivided – Petite Ville's room would be twice as large (6 m x 21 m). Finally, the historic Wood Mountain photograph (refer to Figure 8) suggests that a large, three-room building was not unheard of. It seems very likely that the Cluster A structure would have resembled the structure in the photograph.

The fourth interior beam that runs north-south is not believed to be an internal partition. It is believed that it functioned as a support for floorboards. Unfortunately, there is little archaeological evidence for flooring in any part of the house (probably also because of scavenging). However, in the northern room, three depressions are present which take up most of the floor. The two largest depressions must have had some sort of cover over them and it is proposed that it probably would have best (and easier) to build a floor for the whole room. It is suggested that the extra beams along the east and west walls were used to support floorboards (which would have run east-west). The fourth beam would have gone over the largest depression in the room and would have provided floorboard support over this gaping hole.

Plank flooring is certainly a possibility for the other room(s). Large depressions are present which needed some sort of cover. The extra beams of the east and west walls were present in these rooms as well and could have functioned to support flooring.

Then there is the question of doorways – their number and locations, both for the interior and exterior. It is unknown if there were any internal doorways which may have connected the rooms. The slim architectural evidence for interior partitions does not really allow for speculation on internal doorways.

There are multiple possibilities for exterior door locations. The descriptions of Petite Ville indicate wood and parchment were the primary components of doors (Le Chevallier 1930:24; GA Hardistry Fonds Series 9, M477/143). These would not have survived the ravages of time well. Additionally, without any archaeological portion of the superstructure, there is no indication of where they were located. The location of the large mudding pit features suggests which areas would have been bad places to locate doors. However, the mudding pits cannot be dated conclusively and may have been dug after the structure was abandoned. The five large mudding pits (A1 through A4 and A15) block the majority of the west wall while the large A11 pit successfully blocks the southern third of the east wall.

One could assume the five western mudding pits were contemporaneous with the structure. There seems to have been a good source of clay here – hence the five large pits. Perhaps these pits provided all the clay needed for chinking and chimney construction. Perhaps the pits were dug there so that the clay would be close to where the Métis wished to build chimneys. Or the chimneys were constructed where they knew there would be a good source of clay. Doors could have been on the west wall – it would have been convenient for accessing clay. On the other hand, the mudding pits presented a large obstacle to navigation. If the doors were located on the west wall, the drafts presumably would have interfered with circulating the heat of the chimneys.

During the field school excavations, it was also noted that winds rarely came from the east. Doors on the east wall would have suffered less draft, which would help maintain warmth. The east wall also faces the river, providing better access. As well, most of the east wall does not face the navigation obstacle of mudding pits. If there

were three rooms, then Room 3 is blocked by the depression A11. It is suggested that if the doors were on the east wall, A11 may have been dug after the structure was abandoned.

On the other hand, one or more of the western mudding pits could have been dug after abandonment. Doors could have been on either wall or there could have been a door on both, like the modern 'front' and 'back' door. Also, there is an alternative to the east or west walls. Doors could have been placed on the north and/or south walls as well. The east wall seems the most logical for locating doorways since there were fewer obstacles, better river access and less wind. Unfortunately, it is all conjecture since there is no structural evidence to support any location.

The few architectural remains found at Cluster A raise more questions than they answer. The large size of the structure and the location of some east-west beams raise the strong possibility of interior partitions. Unfortunately, the exact number of the rooms can only be speculated upon but two rooms as a minimum seems likely. Evidence for flooring and doorway locations is also indirect. Multiple possibilities exist for door locations, with only the west wall seemingly being eliminated from the choices. Perhaps the artifacts and their distributions will shed further light on the architectural organization.

5.4. The Artifacts

The artifacts found during field school excavations numbered 14,033 (Table 2). The small size of the artifacts should be considered carefully when studying the raw counts and percentages presented during the analysis. Fragile material like glass and ceramics are present as minute fragments (rather than whole vessels) so they are over-represented in the raw counts. Unfortunately, since many of the fragments are so small (<1 cm), it was difficult to estimate the minimum number of vessels. In fact, little can be inferred about vessel size, form or decorative colour and pattern. Organic artifacts (leather, wood, cloth) were highly fragmented and present a similar problem.

Other artifacts were usually found complete and the raw counts represent whole items. Beads, lead shot, buttons, nails and lithics resisted breakage because of their small size or because of the material. Therefore, the table below displays different information for different artifacts classes and can be misleading. For example, the

Table 2: Summary of the artifacts in their functional categories.

Functional Group	Sub-activity	Totals	% of Functional Group	% of Total Assemblage
Personal Items		**9819**		**69.97%**
	Clothing	**102**	1.04%	0.73%
	Adornment	**9530**	97.06%	67.91%
	Body Care	**17**	0.17%	0.12%
	Indulgences	**30**	0.31%	0.21%
	Pastimes/Crafts	**128**	1.30%	0.91%
	Ritual	**2**	0.02%	0.01%
	Pocket Tools	**1**	0.01%	0.01%
	Recreation	**9**	0.09%	0.06%
Household Items		**1033**		**7.36%**
	Food Preparation and Consumption	**517**	50.05%	3.68%
	Education	**36**	3.48%	0.26%
	Sewing	**480**	46.47%	3.42%
Architecture		**552**		**3.93%**
	Materials	**107**	19.38%	0.76%
	Hardware	**445**	80.62%	3.17%
Transportation		**7**		**0.05%**
	Maintenance	**7**	100.00%	0.05%
Commerce & Industry		**829**		**5.91%**
	Hunting	**808**	97.47%	5.76%
	Manufacturing	**21**	2.53%	0.15%
Precontact		**835**		**5.95%**
	FCR	**237**	28.38%	1.69%
	Lithic Tools	**7**	0.84%	0.05%
	Flakes/Debitage	**589**	70.54%	4.20%
	Ceramics	**2**	0.24%	0.01%
Unidentified		**958**		**6.83%**
	Glass	**310**	32.36%	2.21%
	Metal	**375**	39.14%	2.67%
	Miscellaneous	**177**	18.48%	1.26%
	Organic	**96**	10.02%	0.68%
TOTAL		**14033**		

Personal functional class is composed mainly of complete artifacts while the Household class contains highly fragmented artifacts. However, the table serves as a useful summary of the artifact assemblage and is valuable for comparing Petite Ville to other archaeological sites.

5.4.1. Personal Items

Personal artifacts are by far the most common in the Petite Ville assemblage (n=9819, 69.97%). The category includes some of the most unique and most interesting artifacts found at the Métis home.

The Clothing subcategory contains a wide variety of materials but its artifacts have fewer functions than might be assumed. The majority of the items serve as fasteners (i.e., buttons and metal eye and hooks). Buttons (n=45) are present in numerous forms (2-hole, 4-hole, ball, shank) and are made of diverse materials (glass, bone, metal, vulcanized rubber, shell) (Figure 28a-e). One metal button was fabric covered, although most of the fabric has rotted away (Figure 28f). A 4-hole milk-glass button was decorated with a brown-checkered pattern painted onto one side (Figure 28g). Perhaps the most interesting button is a 2-hole metal button engraved with designs and writing (Figure 28h). The writing is above and below the buttonhole with the designs to the left and right of the hole. The top writing appears to have six or seven letters but only the first three are legible – JUR. The 'U' might be an 'O' or a 'V'. The bottom writing appears to have five or six letters but only the first three are legible – MAR. The design on the left reminded me of a bug but I am sure that is not what it represents. It might be a stylized version of a rising sun or of a shield. The right design is clearly a weapon, probably a halberd[2] (Figure 29).

Other fasteners include two grommets, three 'hooks' and four 'eyes' from 'eye and hook' fasteners. One of the hooks appears to be made from a straight pin (Figure 30a). The grommets both had fragments of white fabric attached to them (Figure 30b).

Several types of organic materials survived, although in poor condition and highly fragmented. Seven pieces are of a thin, black fabric (Figure 30c), along with five pieces of brown material (Figure 30d). Four pieces of a thicker black fabric were also

[2] A halberd or halbert is a weapon especially of the 15th and 16th centuries consisting typically of a battle-ax and pike mounted on a handle about six feet long.

recovered; they are similar to burlap (Figure 30e). Two other pieces of possible fabric were recovered. They are white and of a very loose weave (Figure 30f). It is possible that they are not fabric but some other material.

Some very brittle pieces of thin black leather are possibly from boots (Figure 30g). Some of the 30 fragments also have seam marks on them suggesting they were sewn together to form a thicker piece of leather.

The subcategory Body Care contains 17 pieces of a comb(s). A large fragment of a comb was found (Figure 30h), along with individual comb teeth. Only one fragment appears to be made of bone; the rest are of black vulcanized rubber. The teeth fragments are very similar to those from Buffalo Lake which were identified as delousing combs (Doll et al. 1988:160, Figures 26j, 46l, 50c). However, the comb fragment found at Buffalo Lake (Doll et al. 1988:175, Figure 56l) has much less space between its teeth (essential for removing nits) than the comb found at Petite Ville. The Petite Ville comb teeth may have come from a delousing comb but it seems unlikely that the comb fragment had the same purpose.

The Indulgence category consists of broken tobacco pipe fragments (n=30). The remains of at least six pipes seem to be present, based on colour, ceramic paste and material. Most of the fragments are ceramic portions of the pipe bowl, i.e., earthenware and stoneware. One bowl is of unglazed, white earthenware (Figure 31a), while three others are of light brown and dark brown earthenware (Figure 31b-d). One small fragment of light grey stoneware appears to be from the stub or mouthpiece portion of a pipe (Figure 31e). The most unique fragment is a reddish brown colour and maybe unglazed earthenware or stone. Unfortunately, the fragment is not very big which hinders identification. No other fragments like it were found (Figure 31f). Three other fragments may represent three other pipes which would bring the total to nine (Figure 31g-i); however, they are so small that their identification is not positive.

The Pastimes/Crafts subcategory consists of small pieces of fine wire which are bent and twisted into various shapes. There are loops/circles, 'u'- and 's'-shapes and 'barbell'-shaped pieces (Figure 32). It is believed these were being made into fasteners or jewellery links/chains and they are related to adornment and clothing. This will be discussed in further detail in the Interpretation section.

The Ritual subcategory consisted of two pieces of a rosary (Figure 33). In 43N16W (in the centre of the interior, near the northern wall), a 12.5 cm chain of 'barbell' links was found with 13 white, glass beads. In 34.5N22.W (near the centre of the eastern wall), a partial chain with a medallion and five identical white beads was found.

The heart-shaped metal medallion is 8.34 mm across at its widest point. Its shape and the attached beads make it difficult to measure an accurate length. The beads attach to the medallion using one of three loops. Decorative lines are impressed around the edges of the loops and the heart on both sides of the rosary. On one side, there are 16 stars around a central design. The central design is faint and hard to identify. My first impression was that it might be a cross standing on an altar (Figure 34a).

The opposite side has printing around a central design. Again, the design is difficult to identify but first thoughts were that it might be a picture of a woman (wearing a cloak with her arms out) or a dove (flying with its wings back). The writing is in French and reads "O MARIE CONC SAN(S?) PEC(HE?) ??N" (Figure 34b).

The rosary medallion seems to be based on the popular 19th century Miraculous Medals. The Miraculous Medal originated from the visions of Catherine Laboure, a Sister of Charity in Paris, France. Catherine Laboure recorded that she was visited three times by the Virgin Mary in 1830. The second visitation provided the foundation for the creation and design of the Miraculous Medal:

> One the second occasion, Sister Catherine records the Blessed Virgin appeared as if standing on a globe, and bearing a globe in her hands. As if from rings set with precious stones dazzling rays of light were emitted from her fingers. These, she said, were symbols of the graces which would be bestowed on all who asked for them. Sister Catherine adds that around the figure appeared an oval frame bearing in golden letters the words "Mary, conceived without sin, pray for us who have recourse to thee"; on the back appeared the letter M, surmounted by a cross, with a crossbar beneath it, and under all the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, the former surrounded by a crown of thorns, and the latter pierced by sword. At the second and third of these visions a command was given to have a medal struck after the model revealed, and a promise of great graces was made to those who wear when blessed (Glass 1911:115)

Twelve stars encircled the cross and M design (Figure 35). People were instructed to wear the medal around the neck and they would receive "special graces" (Dirvin 1967:894).

The first set of medals was made in 1832. They gained rapid popularity, due mainly to the belief that wearers enjoyed special protection from the Mother of God. By 1835, over a million copies of the medal were in existence; by the end of the decade, the figure had reached 10 million. The medal had also become international with requests for the medals from the United States, Poland, China, Russia and Abyssinia (Burton 2001:127).

Archaeological examples of the Miraculous Medal have been found at Rocky Mountain House (Alberta), Salmon Arm (British Columbia), Fort Union (North Dakota), Lower Memaloose Island (Oregon), Helena (Montana) (Varsakis 2002:12) and Buffalo Lake (Alberta) (Doll et al. 1988:116, 290). The Medals were found in deposits dated between 1828-1867 at Fort Union. The Rocky Mountain House Medal is believed to have been brought to the fort by either Father Thibeault or Father De Smet. The Catholic missionaries began visiting the fort in the 1840s (Varsakis 2002:14). Father Thibeault also travelled into Saskatchewan, visiting Chipewyan at Île-á-la-Crosse in 1845 (Huel 1996:21).

The Buffalo Lake rosary is very similar in appearance to the Petite Ville rosary (based on Doll et al. 1988:290, Figure 32a) since it has a heart-shaped medallion and an identical bead type. The beads in this case are light blue (Munsell colour 7.5BG 6/6) (Doll et al. 1988:116). Unfortunately, no descriptions of the heart medallion or cross were provided. An oval medal was also found at Buffalo Lake but its design elements were obscured by corrosion (Doll et al. 1988:116).

There are some differences between the rosary medallion and the Miraculous Medals. The Medal printing "Mary, conceived without sin, pray for us who have recourse to thee" is the English translation of "MARIE, CONÇUE SANS PÉCHÉ PRIEZ POUR NOUNS QUI AVONS RECOURS ÀVOUS" (Glass 1911:115). The printing on the Petite Ville rosary appears to be a shortened version "O MARIE CONC SANS PECHE PPN," with the PPN being the abbreviation of "PRIEZ POUR

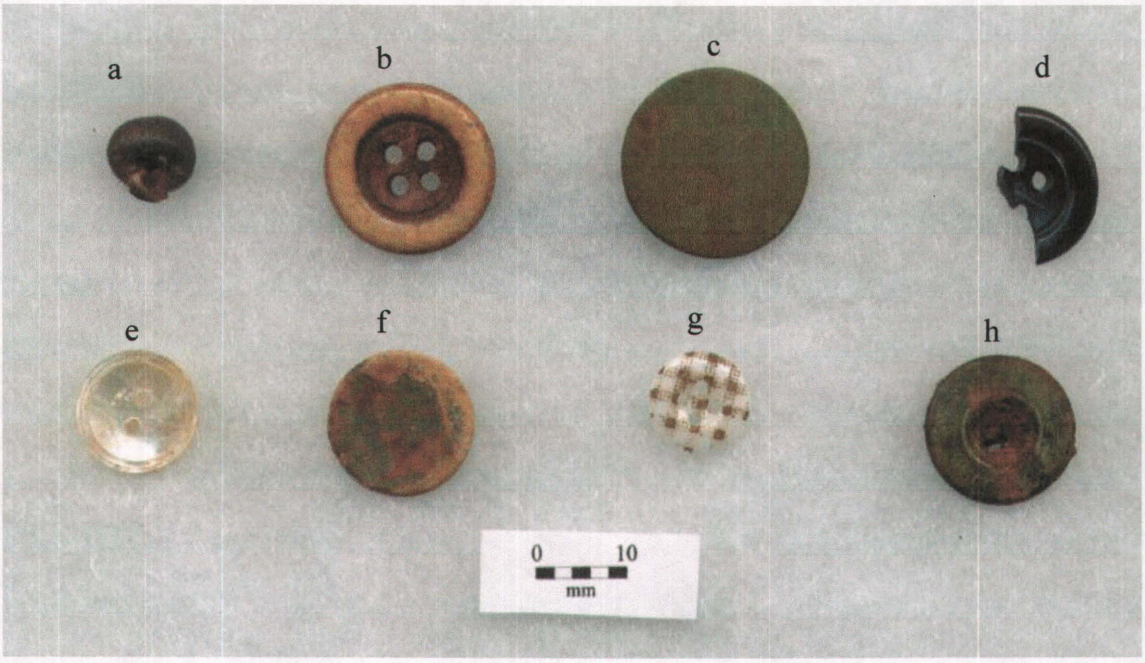


Figure 28: Varieties of buttons found at Petite Ville.

Figure 29: Enlargement of the metal button (h). The photograph has been manipulated to make the writing more visible.

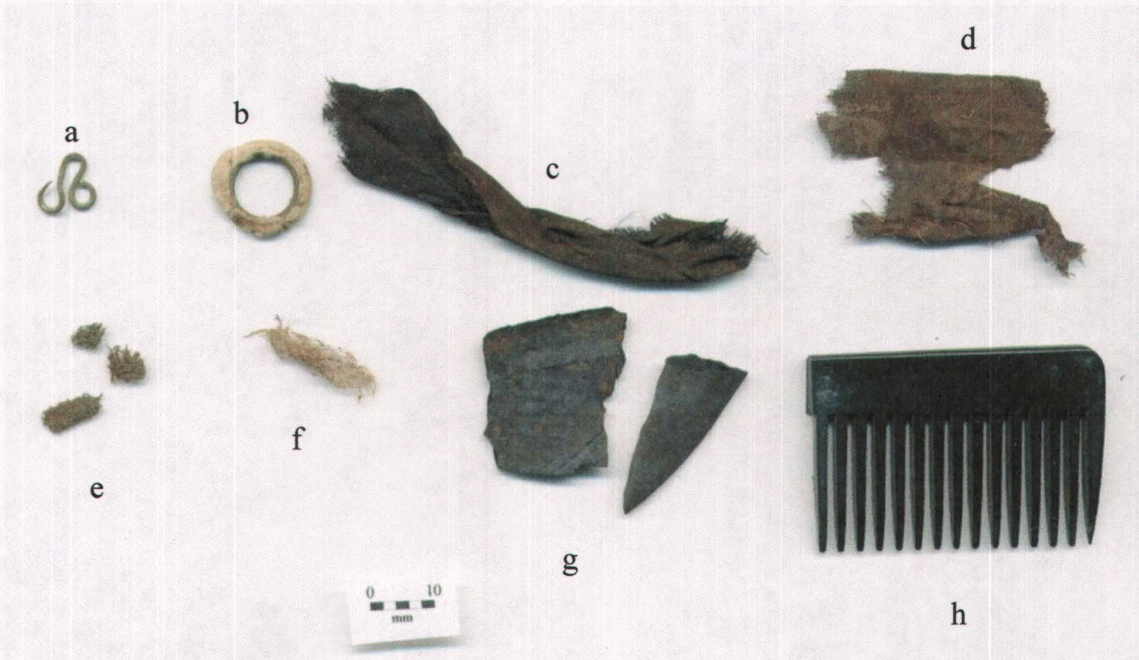


Figure 30: Fasteners, fabric, leather and a vulcanized rubber comb.

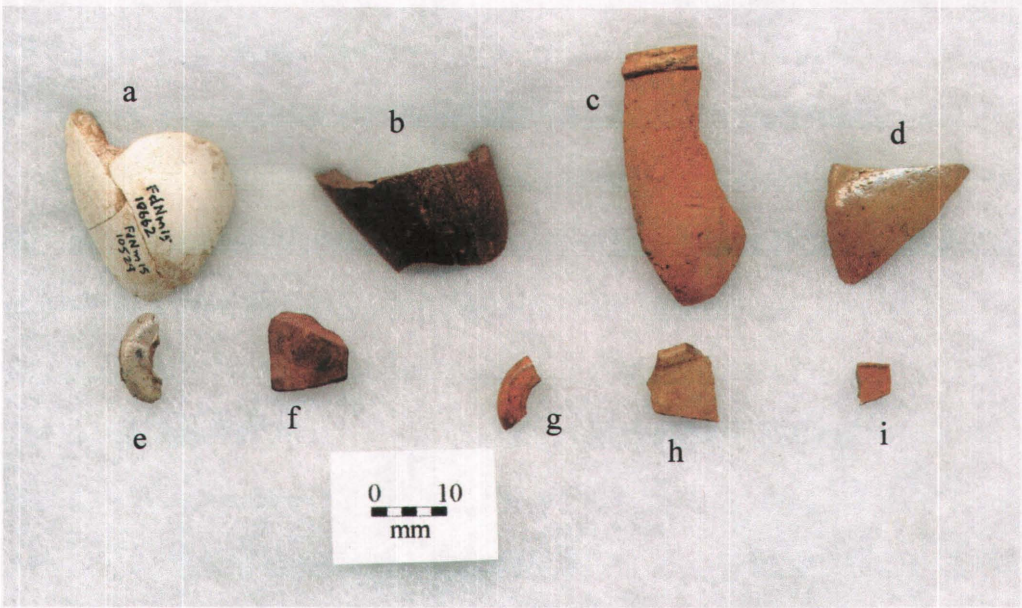


Figure 31: Pipe fragments from Petite Ville. (a) white earthenware pipebowl (b) dark brown earthenware pipebowl (c) light brown earthenware pipebowl fragment with flarred top edge (d) light brown earthenware pipebowl fragment line (e) red pipebowl fragment (f) light grey earthenware portion of stub (g) medium brown earthenware portion of stub (h) dull brown earthenware pipebowl fragment with small lip (i) medium brown earthenware pipebowl fragment with no lip.

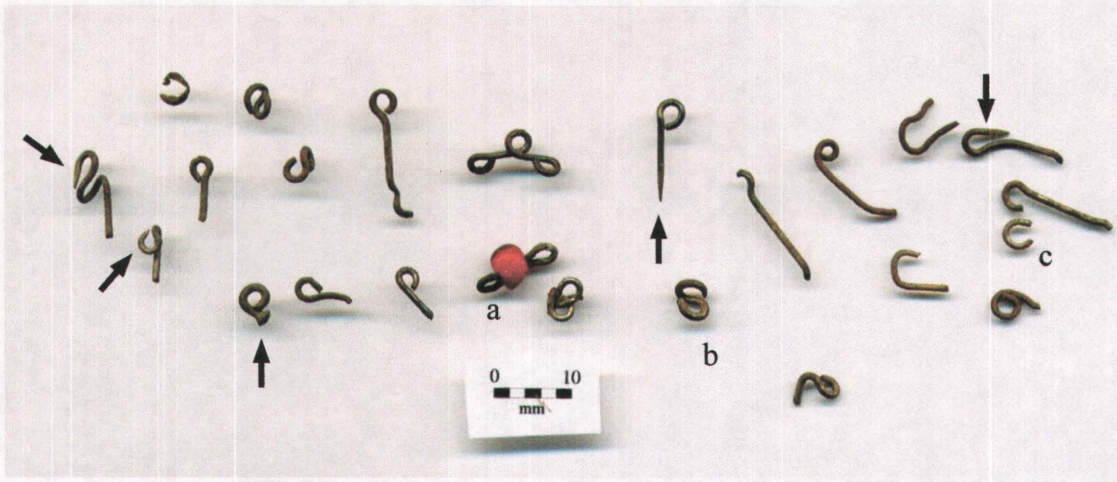


Figure 32: Pieces of fine wire bent into various shapes. (a) 'barbell' shape (b) 's' shape (c) 'u' shape. The arrows indicate pieces that appear to come from straight pins. Photograph courtesy of the author.

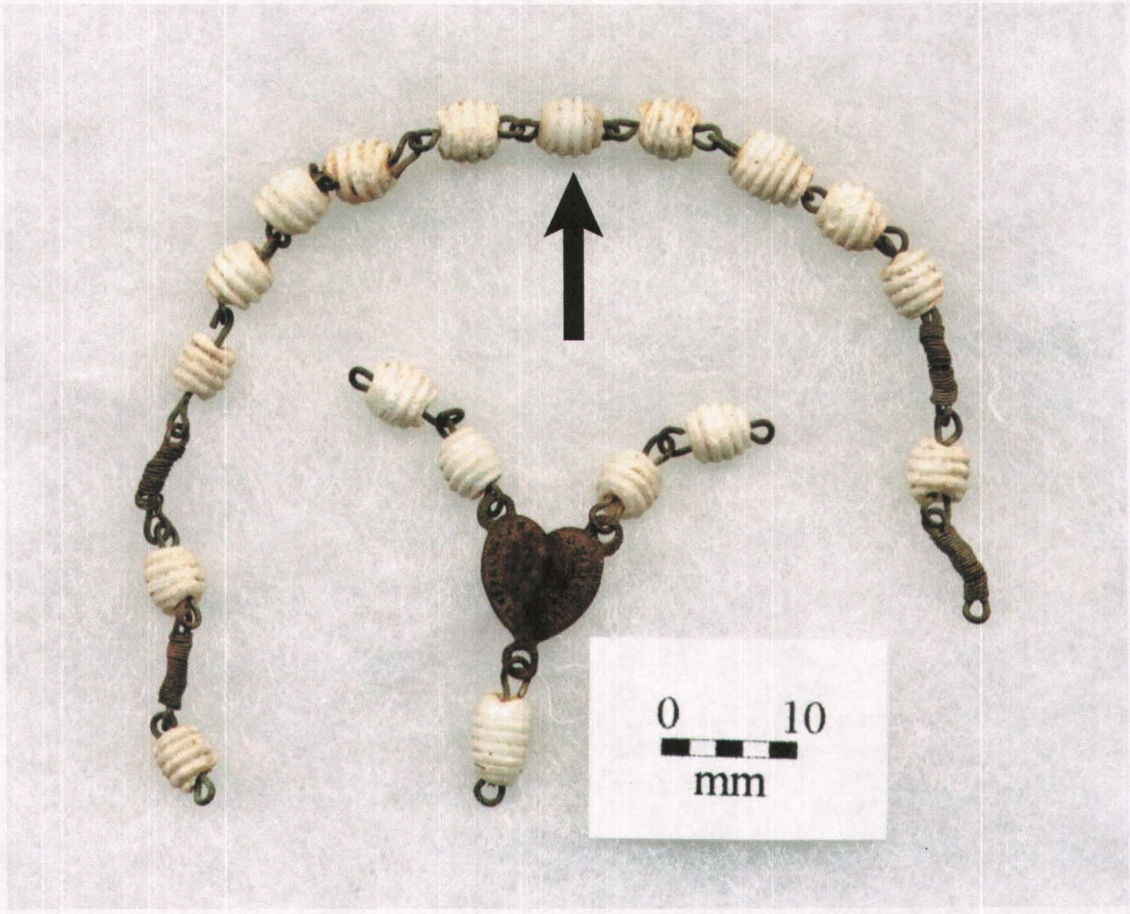


Figure 33: Both rosary fragments. The arrow points to an unpainted bead.

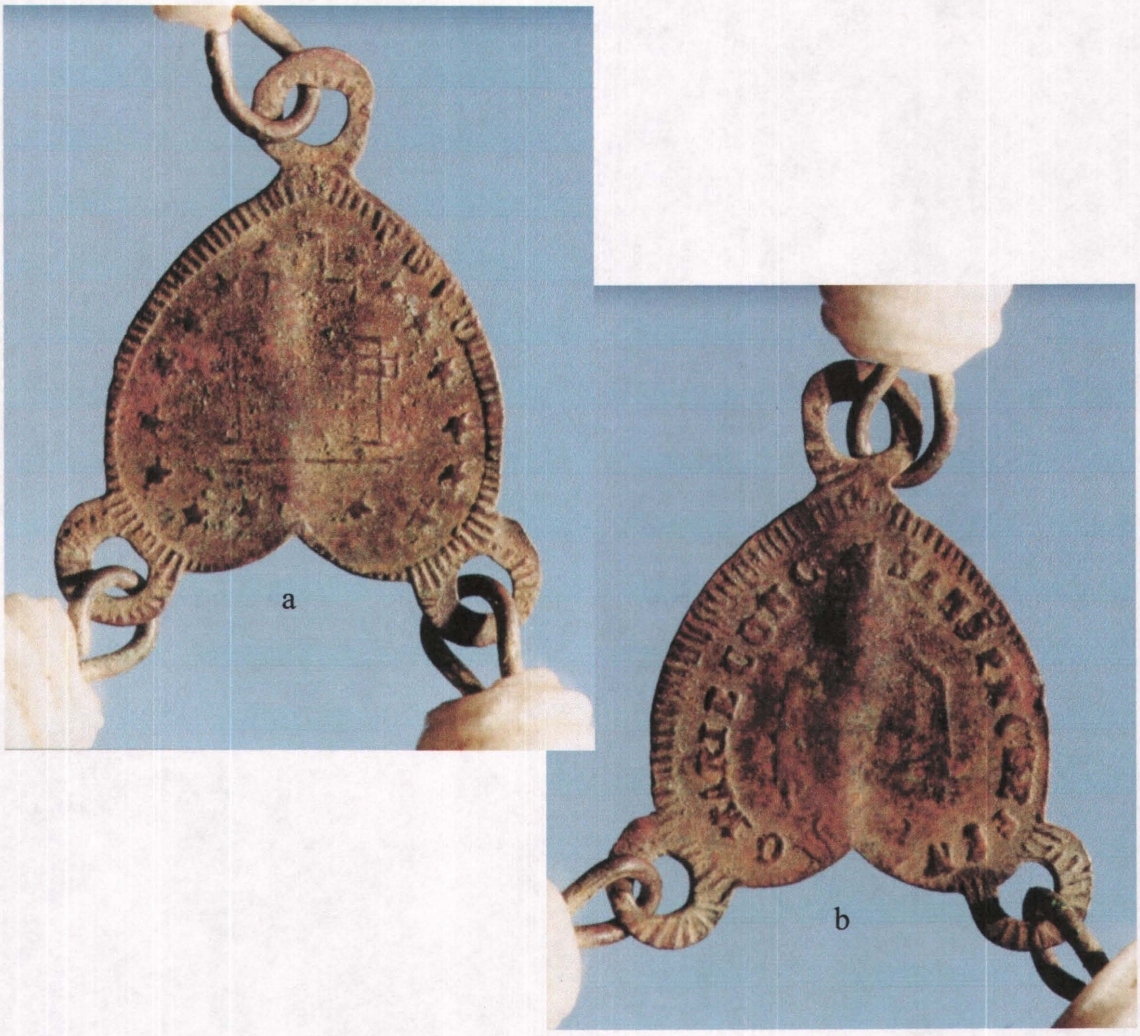


Figure 34: Close-up of both sides of the rosary heart medallion.

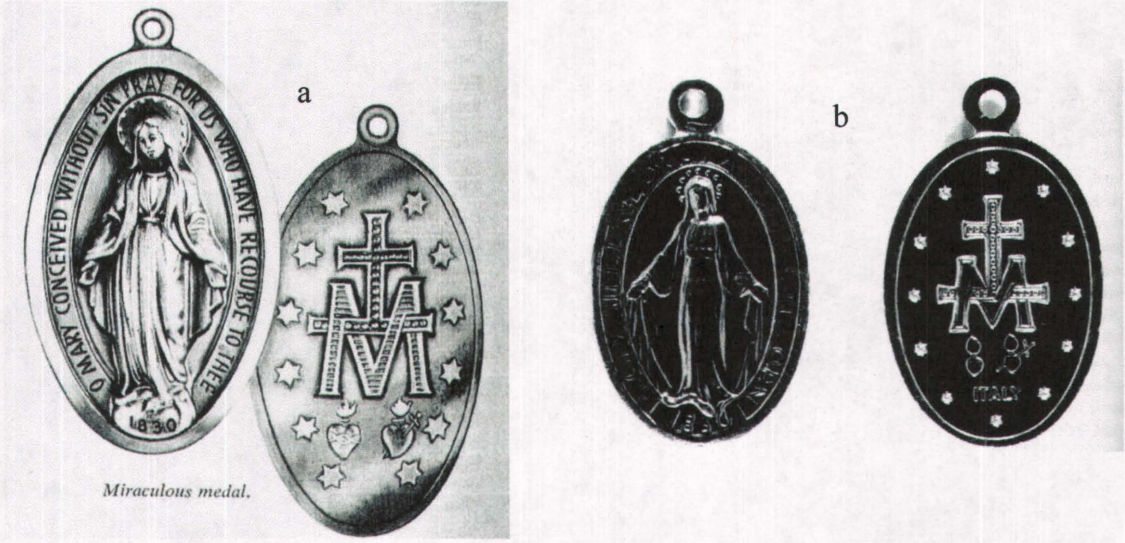


Figure 35: Examples of miraculous medals. Photograph (a) taken from Dirvin 1967:894 and photograph (b) taken from Glass 1911:115 .

NOUNS". The translation would read "Oh Mary, conceived without sin, pray for us".

The shapes of the two items are also different. The Medal was oval with one loop for a chain or ribbon (Varsakis 2002:11) and functioned on its own; the heart-shaped medallion is part of a rosary and has three loops rather than one. The central designs on the rosary medallion appear to be Mary and a cross above an 'M'. However, unlike the Medal, there is no sign of the two hearts under the 'M' and they may not be present. Alternatively, the design appears well-worn and they may just be obscured.

The beads used on the rosary were unique and were only found on the rosary fragments. The bead type was not mentioned in Karklins (1985) or Kidd and Kidd (1970). The rosary beads are monochrome white glass and ovoid (2-4 mm) in shape. There are three to five ridges/rings around each bead depending upon its size. The beads have a thin, dull, opaque white layer of paint on their exterior. One unpainted bead can be seen in the middle of the chain – it resembles milk glass in appearance (refer to Figure 33). The paint is flaking off of most beads, especially the higher rings.

The rosary chain has one complete decade present, with the start of a second. At the end of the decades, the deliberate gap between beads is wrapped with copper wire. The ends of many of the beads appear damaged and partially broken from the motions of copper chain links.

The ridges around the beads initially confused the identification. They were not a separate piece of glass added to the bead, nor were they from moulding. Searching further afield, the bead was found to match a "furnace wound and shaped" example in the massive Fort Union publication[3] by Lester Ross (2000:38, 39, Colour Plate 10, Row 2, k-p).

Ross (2000:38) defines furnace-wound beads as the following:

> A furnace-wound bead appears to have been manufactured by shaping a glob of molten glass on a rod. Such beads always appear to have been shaped or impressed, and there is no visible evidence for spiral winding of the glass. Beads were produced individually, then removed from their shafts and annealed, cleaned, sorted and packaged. Attributes of furnace-wound beads include a

[3] This is a massive 600 page volume that was produced in limited numbers (22 to be exact). A copy is on file in the Department of Archaeology, University of Saskatchewan with Dr. M. Kennedy. Other copies can be obtained on CD by contacting the Fort Union Association, 15550 Highway 1804, Williston ND 58801.

majority of very tiny, spherical air bubbles (as opposed to elongated air bubbles) that do not appear to be aligned in a spherical patterns and lack of projections of glass at the ends of the bead. These beads are not found conjoined (i.e., where two beads come into contact during manufacture) and are often decorated with applied glass.

Furnace-wound beads were manufactured freeform or were shaped to smooth irregular surfaces.

Over 30 varieties of furnace-wound beads were defined at Fort Union, including the "Monochrome, Ovoidal Furnace-Wound and Shaped Beads with Rings" variety. In this case, the bead was "decorated with shaped horizontal rings impressed onto the bead surface by holding a ridged shaping tool against the rotating beads" (Ross 2000:39-46). Ross's examples contained 6-7 rings while the ones at Petite Ville have between 3 and 5.

From Ross's description, these beads appear to be moderately labour intensive and rather uncommon. The only examples of furnace wound beads at Petite Ville are those attached to the rosary fragments, which suggests they are not standard fur trade stock. The Catholic missionaries in western Canada are the obvious and most probable source for the rosary. The presence of the Oblate mission at Petite Ville suggests the rosary may have been given by Fathers Moulin, Andre or Bourgine. Unfortunately, the actual source and period of acquisition is unknown.

The Pocket Tools subcategory consists of one artifact. A brass watch stem was found in 40N17W which is in the northern portion of the structure (Figure 36a).

The Recreation subcategory contains nine smooth, small pebbles and all were similar in size and shape. Seven of the pebbles are black siltstone. The other two are white quartzite and grey siltstone. The pebbles were not common at the site and it hypothesized that they were used as gaming pieces. Five of the pebbles were found in the southeast corner of the middle of the structure and three of those were found in 33N19W.

Adornment is the final and largest subcategory in Personal Items. With 9,529 artifacts, it accounts for over 95% of Personal Items assemblage and over 65% of the entire assemblage. Some of the items related to personal jewellery. One black glass earring with a metal hook was found (Figure 36b). Two fragments of a faceted red loop

were found which are probably from a second earring (Figure 36c). One brass finger ring was found (Figure 36d), as were two tinkling cones (Figure 36e). One of the most interesting finds was a metal broach (Figure 36f). The broach design was made using frittered enamelling. The greenish blue design is actually glass that was painted over metal and fired at a low temperature. There is also decorative 'pitting' in the metal around the design and edges of the broach. Much of the pitted metal seems to have worn off, perhaps weakened by the pitting (Mark Mackenzie, personal communication March 2001).

Nine other artifacts are related to jewellery or perhaps jewellery manufacture. The artifacts consist of bent fine wire chain links, with or without beads. Five of the chain links/loops have beads on them (Figure 36g); two of those are several links long. There are three chains of 's' links and one individual link.

Beads, by far, are the most abundant Adornment artifact type, with 9513 found at Petite Ville[4]. Beads alone account for almost 70% of the entire assemblage. They were sorted by size, type and colour. The bead size ranges chosen were arbitrary and were used to provide sorting guidelines. The bead types were based on Karklins (1985) identification system. The colour range of the glass beads was identified using Pantone and Munsell (Kollmorgen Corporation 1976) colour charts (see Appendix A).

Only two of the beads were not glass. One bead was metal and between 2-4 mm in size. The other bead was bone and was less than 2 mm in size. It looked like a tiny hollow bird bone. The remaining 9511 glass beads were of 10 different varieties and five different sizes (Table 3).

Drawn beads are the most common, with 9475 beads in seven varieties. The four tubular varieties (Ia [Figure 37a], Ic [Figure 37b-c], Ie and If [Figure 37d]) were undecorated with monochrome bodies. Three of those varieties (Ic, Ie and If) had surfaces that were modified by grinding or twisting (Karklins 1985:89, 94). Variety Ic was the most common tubular bead (n=193) and was usually between 4-6 mm in size.

Most of the beads have round (i.e., non-tubular), monochromatic bodies with no decoration (variety IIa) and are either less than 2 mm or between 2-4 mm in size (n=8500) (Figure 37e). Two decorated beads were found. Both were variety IIb, with

[4] The count does not include the beads discussed above on the rosary or the chain links.

opaque white bodies less than 2 mm in diameter. One had blue stripes and the other had black.

Table 3: Bead ranges and sizes at Cluster A. The bead types are based on Karklin (1985).

	Bead Size					
Bead Type	**Very Small (< 2 mm)**	**Small (2-4 mm)**	**Medium (4-6 mm)**	**Large (6-10mm)**	**Very Large (>10 mm)**	**Bead Type Totals**
Bone bead	1	0	0	0	0	**1**
Metal	0	1	0	0	0	**1**
Ia	5	23	2	0	0	**30**
Ic	1	48	144	0	0	**193**
Ie	0	1	0	0	0	**1**
If	0	0	2	0	0	**2**
IIa	6813	1287	35	1	0	**8135**
IIb	2	0	0	0	0	**2**
IVa	997	112	2	0	0	**1111**
MPIIa	0	0	1	11	0	**12**
WIb	0	0	5	14	4	**23**
WIc	0	0	1	0	0	**1**
Totals	**7819**	**1472**	**192**	**26**	**4**	**9513**

Only one variety of bead found had a compound body, with two layers of glass. The variety IVa bead has commonly been called "cornaline d'Aleppo" (Ross 1990:44). The beads have an opaque white interior with a translucent red exterior. They were the second most common bead variety, with the majority being less than 4 mm in diameter.

There were 12 examples of mould-pressed beads. The beads have round, facetted, monochrome bodies with seams around the bead's equator (Figure 37f). Yellow (n=5) and medium green (n=6) were the most common colours, with one of dark blue. The beads are generally larger than the drawn examples, with none smaller than 4 mm and most between 6-10 mm. The mould seams are usually very visible with extra bits of glass around the equator that were squeezed out of the mould. The perforations of the yellow monochrome beads are also noteworthy. They start as very small pin-holes in a slight depression and then widen to 2.2 mm at the other end.

The largest beads occur in the wire wound varieties. The two varieties (WIb [Figure 37g-i] and WIc [Figure 37j]) have monochrome bodies with no decorations. The glass is patinated and flaking off many of these beads. The most common colours were black, blue and green but there were also white, red and colourless examples.

Considering all the beads (which of course refers primarily to drawn beads), the most common colour was white (n=1763). Most of the white beads were opaque (n=1252), rather than translucent or transparent. The 10 most common colours are listed in Table 4.

Table 4: The ten most common bead colours found at Petite Ville.

Colour	Diaphaneity			Total
	Opaque	Translucent	Transparent	
White	1252	511	--	1763
Blue, medium	223	1259	--	1482
Red/white[5]	--	1111	--	1111
Pink	508	282	--	790
Green, dark	774	8	--	782
Green, medium	163	595	--	758
Red	1	743	--	744
Blue, light	464	19	--	483
Yellow	2	387	1	390
Blue, dark	6	377	--	383

5.4.2. Household Items

Unlike many historical residential sites, Cluster A Items did not contain copious amounts of material in this category (n=1033, 7.36% of the total assemblage). The artifact count of Food Preparation and Consumption is high (n=517) but it represents a few highly fragmented artifacts. The ceramics (n=183) present are all earthenware (Table 5). The fragments were too small and too few to reconstruct complete vessels. Very little could be interpreted about vessel types or functions. The best way to identify

[5] Red/white refers to bead type IVa which had a translucent red exterior and opaque white interior. They were catalogued as translucent.

Table 5: Summary of ceramic sherds and patterns. † denotes patterns with the same borders that can only be distinguished by the central design. * denotes possible pattern identification. Dates based on Sussman (1979:64, 65, 82, 115, 155, 159, 167, 208).

Ceramic Patterns	Decoration Colour	Manu-facturer	Date range	Number of sherds
B700	Flowblue	Spode & Copeland	ca. 1837 – post 1847	21
B772	Flowblue	Spode & Copeland	ca. 1839 – post 1882	2
Continental Views/ Louis Quatorze †	Light purple	Spode & Copeland	ca. 1845 - post 1882/ 1844 - ??	14
Flower Vase	Dark blue	Spode & Copeland	ca. 1828 – 20th century	1
Pagoda/Macaw †	Flowblue	Spode & Copeland	ca. 1838 – post 1872/ ca. 1838 – post 1872	3
Pergola	Light blue	Spode & Copeland	ca. 1844 – post 1872	32
Rose & Sprigs/ Sevres? †*	Flowblue	Spode & Copeland	ca. 1847 - ?? / Manufacturing dates unknown but found at sites with a range of 1824 to 1860.	5
White interior /brown exterior	Brown stripes on white side			1
White/grey				1
Unidentified dark blue [DB-a] (oak leaves and fence on *interior*)	Dark blue	Spode & Copeland?		3
Unidentified dark blue [DB-b] (oak leaves and fence on *exterior*; ivy leaves on interior)	Dark blue	Spode & Copeland?		4
Unidentified white pattern on dark blue		Spode & Copeland?		1
Unidentified black on white				2
Unidentified burned sherd				1
Unidentified purple on white				1
White earthenware				20
Unidentified flowblue				63
Unidentified light blue				3
Exfoliated on both sides				5
Totals				**183**

vessels was by the colour of glazes or patterns. On that basis, the field schools found a minimum of 12 vessels (Figure 38). Burley et al. (1992:57) found a Spode and Copeland pattern known as "Ivy" which brings the total to 13.

The shape of another sherd increases the count to 14. The pattern is not visible on the burnt rim sherd but its thickness and curve indicates the vessel was heavy and very shallow – likely a serving bowl.

Two other tiny sherds may possibly represent another vessel which would bring the total to 15. The white sherds appear to have a black pattern. However, there is some evidence that the sherds have been burnt, which may meant the pattern was not black originally.

Three fragments of foot-rings were present. One fragment consisted only a white and grey foot-ring while the other two were part of larger sherds with the Continental Views underglaze transfer print pattern. The former foot ring fragment was much heavier and larger, suitable to be the base of a large vessel. The latter fragments formed a smaller vessel like a cup, saucer or small bowl.

Of the 14 vessels, only one could be partially reconstructed (Figure 39). The vessel has a thin rim (3.5 mm) and the body becomes even thinner (2.02 mm) just above the thick base (5.04 mm). It appears to be hollowware from a dining set – possibly a large teacup. A light blue Pergola underglaze transfer print pattern is present on the interior and exterior of the cup. The pattern identifies the manufacturer as the English company Spode and Copeland (Sussman 1979).

The patterns on many vessels are on the interior and exterior which suggest that they were hollow-ware pieces like bowls or cups. The detailed patterns also suggest the vessels were display pieces (i.e., tableware) rather than more utilitarian serving ware. The thickness of the rim sherds supports the identification of the vessels as bowls or large teacups. Unfortunately, there are not enough of the vessels to make a firm identification of size or shape.

Only two of the 14 vessels did not have underglaze transfer print patterns. One vessel appeared to have a grey base. The second vessel was dark brown on the exterior. The interior was white with two brown stripes.

Most of the decorations were in the form of underglaze transfer prints. Six, possibly seven, of the patterns were made by Spode and Copeland. This company was the sole supplier of ceramics to the HBC between 1835 and 1872 (Copeland 1993:26). The other transfer print patterns look very similar to the identified ones and they are probably Spode and Copeland as well.

There were 304 metal fragments in the Food Preparation and Consumption category. The majority of the metal was in the form of 262 fragments of lead foil. Most of the pieces are small and unidentifiable. Some of the fragments appear to be from labels with small flecks of red and white paint(?) adhering to them. They are very small and brittle and impossible to reconstruct into a larger piece.

There were four pieces of lead foil from a food seal stamp (Figure 40a). Two fragments fit back together; one fragment has a shiny finish while the other is dull and hard to read. The back of the latter still has a partially shiny finish and the letters are easier to identify. The writing and design are enclosed within a raised circle. Arcing across the top portion of the circle are the letters CROS_E & BLACK---- above PURVEY--- -O HER MAJ. The word SOHO is below and to the left of the lettering, at a different angle. A small but illegible portion of a central design is visible. The seal would have been approximately 4 cm in diameter. The original seal would have said:
CROSSE & BLACKWELL
PURVEYORS TO HER MAJESTY
SOHO LONDON (Doll 1988:195, 323; Brandon 1989:229).

In 1706, the West and Wyatt firm began a grocery business which became famous for its pickles, sauces and condiments. The products were purchased mainly by the nobility and gentry. The Crosse and Blackwell company began in 1830 when Edmunde Crosse and Thomas Blackwell bought the West and Wyatt grocery. By 1860, the company produced 25 varieties of soup, 20 kinds of crystallized fruits, many liqueurs, as well as games pates, jams, honeys and other delicacies (Sue Hennessey, Premier Foods Co., personal communication, 2003). Crosse and Blackwell were HBC suppliers of pickles, preserves and bottled fruit in 1855 and between 1864 and 1875 (Lafléche 1979:21). The lead seal was probably from tinned fruit, which was part of the Métis diet (Steele 2000:86).

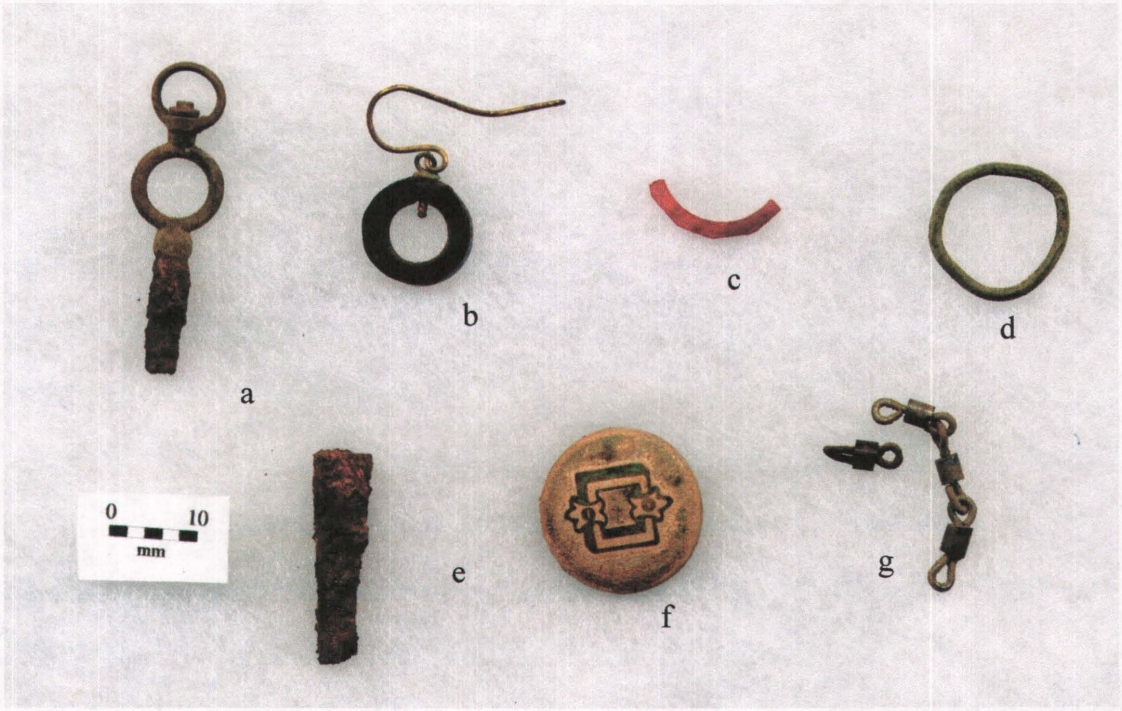


Figure 36: Various Personal artifacts.

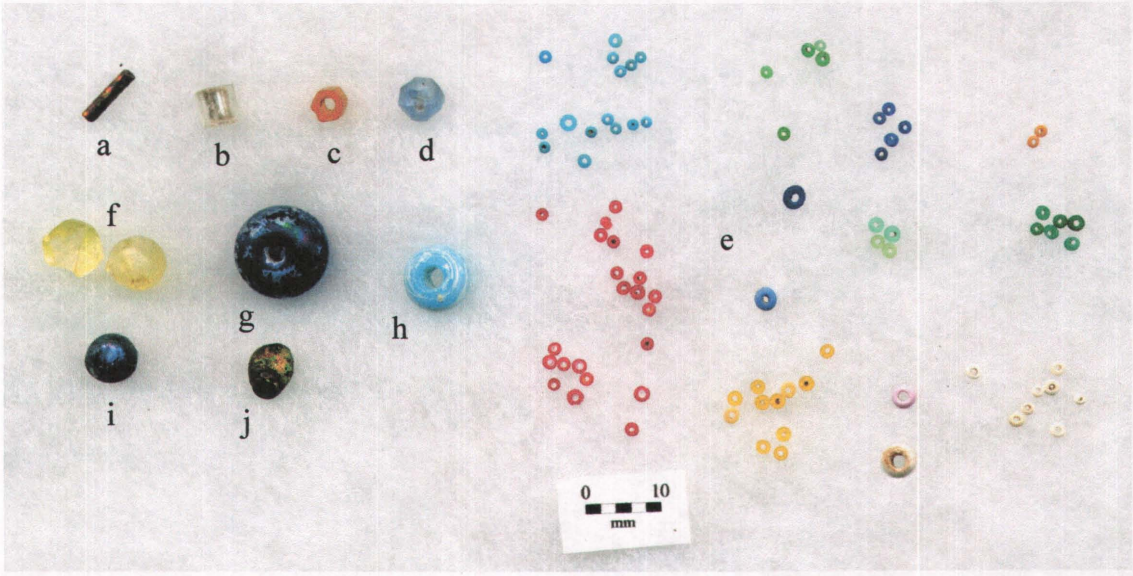


Figure 37: Assorted bead types and colors from Petite Ville.

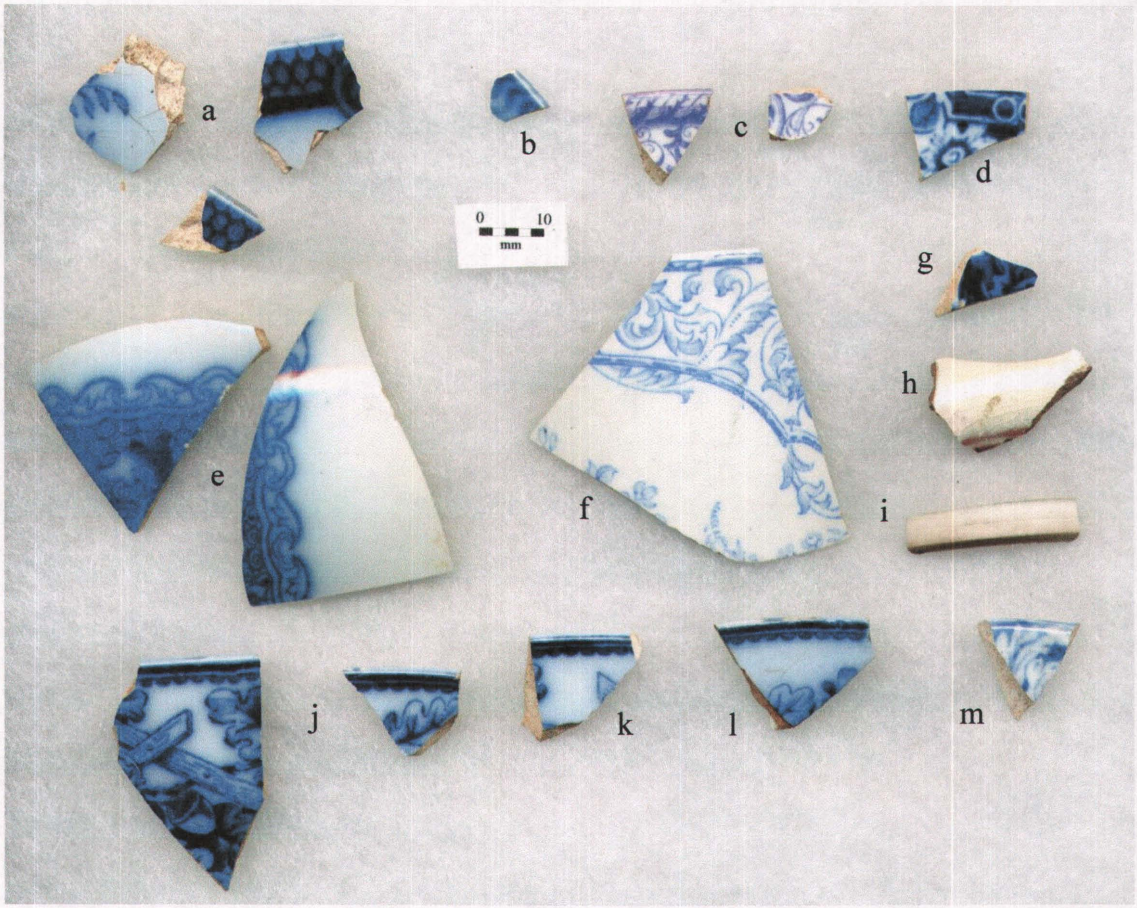


Figure 38: Ceramic patterns. (a) 3 sherds of B700 (b) B772 (c) 2 sherds of Continental Views/Louis Quatorze (d) Flower Vase (e) 2 sherds of Pagoda/Macaw (f) Pergola (g) Rose & Sprigs/Sevres? (h) White interior with brown stripes/brown exterior (i) white and grey footring (j) 2 sherds of unidentified dark blue (DB-b) exterior with oak leaves (k-l) Unidentified dark blue (DB-a) interior with oak leaves (m) Unidentified white on blue.

Figure 39: Pergola teacup with exterior shown on the left and the interior shown on the right.

There were seven fragments of possible ferrous can seams and a partial ferrous can was recovered. A second can was found in 35N19W but it was left in-situ (it continued into the unit wall). It is not included in the artifact counts or totals. The other 34 metal artifacts consist of lead sheet fragments, possibly from the inside of tea casks.

Thirty fragments of curved dark green glass from a turn mould bottle were found. They may all be from one bottle but there were two pieces of base with different glass widths (Figure 40b). However, not many pieces could be reconstructed and perhaps the difference in thickness is simply a result of the manufacturing process. Based on the largest reconstructed fragment, one bottle is large with an estimated base diameter of 11 cm (4 inches). The bottle(s) would probably have contained a beverage, presumably alcoholic.

The Education subcategory consisted of 36 artifacts (3.48% of Household Items; 0.26% of the total assemblage). Eleven of the artifacts were fragments of metal pen nibs (Figure 40c). Some of the fragments were reconstructed, indicating a minimum of three nibs. There are also 13 fragments of dark grey writing slate (Figure 40d) and 12 pieces of pencil lead/graphite with square cross-sections (Figure 40e). The presence of these artifacts speaks to a level of literacy among the Métis. They are most likely the results of the Oblate efforts of education and establishing schools.

The Sewing subcategory consists of 480 artifacts. One of these artifacts is a piece of green embroidery thread (Figure 41a). The rest of the artifacts consist of straight pins (n=475) (Figure 41b-e) and needles (n=4) (Figure 41f) (Table 6). The condition of the straight pins raised interesting questions. Only 45 complete straight pins were found and the rest were incomplete. At first it was thought that perhaps the breakage was due to the inherent problems with early pin manufacturing.

Pin heads used to be made of a different piece of wire and then attached to the shaft. Consequently, they had a tendency to loose their heads. Pins were hand-packaged in paper packets so that buyers could check the quality of the pins. Both the manufacturing and packaging processes were labour-intensive and resulted in a high price for the product (Dutton and Jones 1983:176-177).

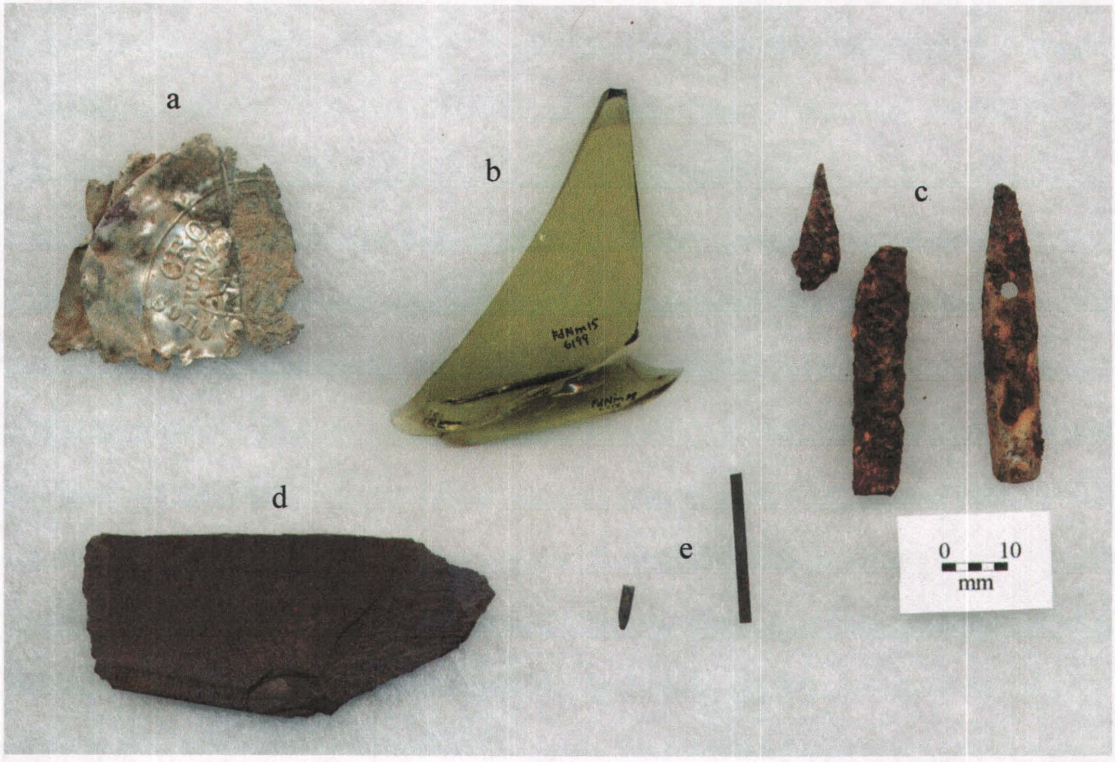


Figure 40: Household and literacy items.

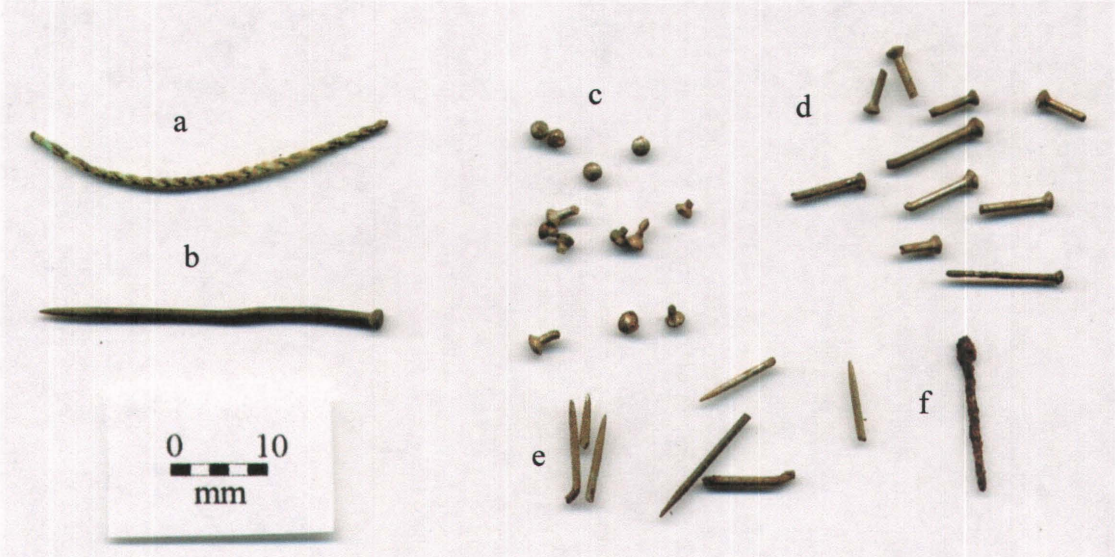


Figure 41: (a) Green thread (b) A complete straight pin (c) Straight pin heads (d) Incomplete straight pins (e) Straight pin shafts (f) A possible needle.

Table 6: Breakdown of the Needles and Straight Pins. * refers to straight pins with a head and a portion (usually small) of the shaft.

Type	Condition	Quantity
Needle	Incomplete	2
Needle	Complete	2
Straight Pins	Complete	30
Straight Pins	Complete-Bent	15
Straight Pins	Head	140
Straight Pins	Incomplete*	212
Straight Pins	Shaft	78
	TOTAL	**479**

The American pin industry was revolutionized by the 1833 solid pin-making machine, invented by John Howe (Lubar 1987:269). Solid pins could be manufactured much more cheaply but the cost of packaging was still high. Consumers still demanded paper packets so that they could inspect the pin quality. However, three pin-making machines required 50-60 workers to package the output. The 1941 invention of a "pin sticker" machine completely automated the process and the cost of manufacturing dropped substantially. By 1860, in America, the Howe Manufacturing Company had machines that could both make and package pins at the rate of 150-250 packs a day (Lubar 1987:269-276). The result was cheaper and better straight pins in the United States.

The British companies were slow in adapting these inventions and worked unsuccessfully on similar machines throughout the 1840s (Dutton and Jones 1983:191-193). Solid pin making machines were not wide-spread through Britain for years but solid pins should have been available to the English, and therefore to the HBC, by 1860.

For the Métis, the cost of the straight pins would have depended upon which market they chose to access. The nomadic nature of Métis bison hunts would have allowed the Métis to access American trade goods fairly easily. However, it is unknown if the Métis at Petite Ville chose to travel across the International Border regularly or at all. They seem to have restricted much of their hunting to the Saskatchewan region and may not have needed to go into the United States. British pins were available through the HBC and would have been easily accessible for the Métis at Petite Ville. While the

American pins were probably cheaper than British ones and perhaps better quality, the travel required to get them may not have been worth the effort.

Closer examination of the Petite Ville straight pins suggested the breakage was not due to rust or internal manufacturing weaknesses. Many of the incomplete straight pins and shafts showed evidence of deliberate breakage by cutting or shearing. It appeared that straight pins were so inexpensive by the 1870s that they could be deliberately broken. The purpose of the breakage will be discussed in more detail in the Artifact Distributions section.

5.3.3. Architecture

As previously mentioned, architectural remains are limited. The architectural category contains 552 artifacts or 3.97% of the total assemblage. The architectural artifacts are divided between hardware (such as nails, screws, staples) and building materials (such as wood, plaster, chinking and window glass) (Table 7). The materials category is somewhat incomplete since many of these materials were counted as part of the matrix, rather than collected as artifacts. Occasional pieces were collected as examples. The hardware count is much higher and consists mostly of nails.

Table 7: Breakdown of Architectural artifacts.

Subclass	Artifact Type	Quantity
Materials, n=107	Flat glass	27
	Chinking	32
	Plaster	12
	Clay	1
	Wood	35
Hardware, n=445	Staples	4
	Metal band	1
	Metal strapping	22
	Cut nails	383
	Wrought nails	5
	Ferrous tacks	28
	Screw	2

The presence of flat glass was a bit surprising since the historical descriptions indicated that only parchment windows were used at Petite Ville. However, glass may have been used in years after the description took place or the visitor could have just overlooked its presence.

The largest two flat glass fragments were 4.0 x 5.0 cm and 8.1 x 5.6 cm respectively, with their thickness 1.52 and 1.72 mm (Figure 42). Straight edges are present on both of these pieces. The rest of the fragments are small, usually between 1 to 2 cm. Fifteen fragments were so small that no dimensions were taken. Many of them are circular flakes and the edges of the larger fragments do show flaking scars – from wear, rather than deliberate manufacturing. All the shards show patination.

Chinking was not collected consistently. Specimens were usually collected because they were unusual, i.e., a flat side, part of a concentration, with vegetation impressions, or because they were large. The 32 pieces of chinking that were collected are brownish-orange in colour. The pieces were typically brittle and small, less than 3 cm. Vegetation impressions (likely straw) were found on 18 fragments.

Pieces of white plaster did not often occur and those that did were notoriously difficult to collect without disintegrating. Seven fragments included pink inclusions. An additional sample of plaster (the best preserved actually) is adhered to the back of a piece of wood sample (Figure 43). Twenty-nine other samples of wood were collected. These were the best that Petite Ville had to offer but most are brittle and the disintegration continues.

As mentioned earlier, some wood samples were identified as *Populus* (aspen and poplar) and *Populus/Salix* (willow). The wood throughout the site was quite decayed and samples were taken wherever possible (i.e., arbitrarily). Sources included features and beams, as well as any substantial piece that was found. These samples were usually quite small due the deteriorated nature of the wood. A description and the location of the samples can be seen in Table 8. Ten samples were selected for analysis at two institutes which had agreed to do the identification for free[6]. Half the samples were sent to the United States – unfortunately, the samples that were sent did not originate from wooden beams. Therefore, it cannot be stated conclusively that the walls were built of

[6] Only one of the institutes completed the analysis.

aspen and/or poplar logs. However, since the other wood came from local aspen and poplar sources, it is likely that the wood for the walls did as well.

Table 8: Location and condition of wood samples.

Sample	Condition	Location
1	2 pieces in fairly good condition from a post. 6 x 2 x 1 cm.	42N19W NWQ, Level 10
2	2 good pieces. 5 x 8 x 2 cm.	34N22W SEQ Level 5
3	Half of Wood #4 on plan-view. Fair condition.	43N16W SWQ Level 10
4	All of Wood #3 on plan-view. Rooty and compressed. 8 x 6 x 2 cm	43N16W SWQ Level 10
5	Excellent condition. 5 x 2 x 3 cm	28N24W level 4 from wood beam going east-west.

Hardware (n=434) composed 79.89% of the Architecture category and 3.17% of the total assemblage. The most common piece of hardware is the machine-cut nail (n=383). Complete nails were measured in imperial units (inches); incomplete nails were not measured. Cut nails ranged between 0.5" and 3.0", with 1.0" nails being most common (n=65) followed by 1.5" (n=30) and 2.5" (n=28) (Figure 44a-c). About half of the cut nails are represented by incomplete fragments (shanks, n=107; heads, n=11; incomplete (the head with a small portion of the shaft), n=69).

Five hand-wrought nails were found, as were 2 screws. One screw is very large (2") (Figure 44d) while the other is 0.5". Ferrous tacks (n=28) were included in the Architectural category since they can be used for building and securing (Figure 44f). Their ferrous nature suggests they would not have served a decorative purpose but their individual functions are unknown. Pieces of ferrous metal strapping (n=22), usually 1" wide, often had nail holes punched through the metal. Occasionally, the nails were still present (Figure 44f). The strapping would have been useful for securing and/or strengthening items such as beams or rafters. The strapping could also have used on other items, such as wagons, but since they were found around a home, they were included in the Architecture category and assumed to be used on the structure.

Two other artifact types were placed in the architectural category. One large ferrous band (8.5 diameter, 1.5 cm width) was found, compressed flat. There were also

four examples of fastener-like objects (Figure 44g). They were ferrous and resembled large staples. They could be pounded into wood and could have served various purposes, such as securing planks together or fastening items to the wall.

5.3.4. Transportation

The Transportation category included materials related to livestock that could be used to haul wagons or carts or that could be ridden. Items such as wagon or cart parts would also have been included. However, the category has very few artifacts (n=7) and only accounts for 0.05% of the total assemblage. The category consists of five horseshoe nails and one piece of leather thought to be from a harness.

5.3.5. Commerce and Industry

The Commerce and Industry category contained 829 artifacts or 5.91% of the total assemblage. The category contains ammunition (n=808) or items related to manufacturing more ammunition (n=21) since hunting was one of the primary commercial Métis enterprises (Table 9). While hunting was also used for sustenance, the hunts were organized with the intention of harvesting a surplus. From a good hunt, this "surplus" was often the largest portion and could be used in the commercial enterprise of trade.

Table 9: Breakdown of Commerce and Industry artifacts.

Subcategory	Type	Quantity	Percentage
Hunting		**808**	**97.47%**
	Bullet	2	0.24%
	CF Cartridge Case-fired	1	0.12%
	Gun flint	1	0.12%
	Lead Ball	3	0.36%
	Lead Shot	772	93.12%
	Percussion Cap	22	2.65%
	RF Cartridge case - fired	2	0.24%
	RF Cartridge case - unfired	1	0.12%
	Shotgun shell - fired	4	0.48%
Manufacturing		**21**	**2.53%**
	Sprue	21	2.53%

A variety of guns were present at Petite Ville, both muzzle and breech-loaders. Two muzzle-loader varieties were present. The find of one dark brown gunflint (Figure 45a) (plus an additional flint found in 1986 by Burley [1992:58]) indicates the older

flintlock gun was used. Percussion caps (n=22), which had replaced the flint in the ignition system, were present. Some of the caps had a ridged exterior (Figure 45b) while others were smooth (Figure 45c). Many of the percussion caps were also 'split'.

Three different breech-loading weapons (two rifles and one shotgun) were present since centre-fire cartridges (n=1), rim-fire cartridges (n=3) and shotgun shells (n=4) were found. No head-stamp was present on the centre fire cartridge. The smallest rim-fire cartridge (.33 calibre) was unfired and bore no head-stamp (Figure 45d). The other two rim-fire cartridges cases (.44 calibre) had a "H" head-stamp developed by Henry Tyler in the late 1850s (Figure 45e). The .44 Henry centre-fire cartridge case was very common and could be used in two firearms: the Henry rifle, made by the new Haven Arms Company between 1860 and 1866 and the Winchester model 1866, made by the Winchester Repeating Arms Company between 1866 and 1898. Approximately 10,000 of the former were made while nearly 100,000 of the latter were manufactured (Doll et al. 1988:86).

One of the cartridge cases (Figure 45f) has a 4.30 mm hole bored into its side. The exterior edge of this hole is smooth and even, but the interior edge is ragged, indicating the hole was punched through the metal from the outside in. The cartridge case appears to have had another function after it was fired. Perhaps a small stick was placed in the hole and it was used to measure and scoop black powder.

All four of the shotgun shell casings were 20 gauge and were manufactured by the Eley Brothers of London (Figure 45g-j). Two different Eley Bros. head-stamps were present – each on two cartridge cases. One of the casings contained a white bead – after firing, perhaps it functioned as a bead holder. Admittedly, it could also be a chance association.

Lead shot (n=772) accounts for the majority of the projectiles (93.17%) (Figure 45k). Three lead balls (diameters range from 0.529" to 0.566") (Figure 45l) and two bullets were also found. One bullet is rather squat and shaped like a tapering cylinder (Figure 45m). Its diameter narrows from 11.69 mm to 10.66 mm, with a length of 13.68 mm. Its final shape was presumably created by the force of striking a hard surface which caused the soft lead to flow forward. The other bullet is much smaller, with the

normal "bullet" shape. The .22 calibre bullet has three indented rings around its base (Figure 45n).

There was some evidence for manufacturing lead projectiles (shot or bullets). Some 21 pieces of lead sprue were recovered. Additionally, some of the lead shot recovered was irregular in shape, suggesting home manufacture (Figure 45o).

5.3.6. Precontact Materials

Precontact materials (n=835) accounted for 5.95% of the total assemblage. Two pieces of precontact ceramics were found. One had a punctate and was identified as Mortlach pottery (David Meyer, personal communication, 2000). It was located in level 3 of 40N18W. The second sherd was recovered from level 12 in 43N16W. The exfoliated sherd had the remnants of a smoothed fabric impression.

The rest of the precontact artifacts are lithics of various forms and varieties. There were 237 fragments of fire-cracked rock (FCR). The use of the window screen greatly increased the lithic count. Many of the flakes (n=533) and debitage fragments (n=57) would have been lost with the regular ¼" mesh size since they were less than 5 mm size.

There were four tools found. Two of them were located in the modern privy pits that were excavated for the students, i.e., not related to the Métis structure at Cluster A. These included a large (9 x 5.5 cm), white quartzite biface and a small (4 x 1.5 cm) red chert biface. The two tools found associated with the Métis structure are scrapers. One is a small, irregularly-shaped, Knife River Flint (KRF) flake with a retouched edge. The other is made of grey Swan River Chert (SRC) and looks as if it may have functioned as a core before being utilized as an scraper.

The abundance of precontact materials in a historical Métis occupation will be addressed in the Interpretation section.

5.3.7. Unidentified Materials

Unidentified artifacts accounted for 6.83% of the total assemblage (n=958). The category includes unidentified and unidentifiable artifacts, as well as those with an uncertain or ambiguous function. Unfortunately, some interesting artifacts were included in this category, simply because their functions were unclear. The Unidentified artifacts will be dealt with by material type.

5.3.7.1. Unidentified Glass

Glass accounts for 32.53% of the Unidentified category (n=310) or 2.21% of the total assemblage. Curved shards (n=54), representing a minimum of two bottles, were present. One bottle was colourless, very small and its walls were very thin. A second bottle was much larger. However, there were not enough shards reconstruct its size or form. The glass is heavily patinated, giving the shards an oily green appearance but the vessel was probably colourless. Its function is unknown.

Three shards may be possible bead fragments. There is also one small piece of glass lined with foil on one side – a possible mirror fragment? The rest of the glass fragments are unidentifiable.

5.3.7.2. Unidentified Metal

Metal accounts for 39.14% of the Unidentified category (n=375) or 2.69% of the total assemblage. Most of the fragments are unidentified and unidentifiable scraps of lead, iron and unidentified metal. There were also extremely small and brittle fragments with small flecks of colour. It is thought they might be lead foil.

The largest artifact excavated from Petite Ville was a piece of ferrous sheet metal fragment, about 50 x 50 cm. A corner is missing where the metal has been trimmed in an arc. Sheet metal could have many uses, which was why the artifact was included in this category. The artifact was deliberately shaped to fit around something. One suggestion was that it was used on the roof around a chimney pipe as a spark-catcher. Callihoo (1953:22) noted that the St. Albert residents built the chimney about 60 cm (two feet) above the roof to reduce the chance of sparks landing on it. A piece of metal on the roof around the chimney would also reduce the danger from sparks.

There were other flat pieces of ferrous metal but it was unclear whether they were sheet metal or fragments of cans. They did not approach the large size of the above sheet metal. The larger pieces ranged between 10 to 2 cm and there were many less than 2 cm in size.

Some of the metal seems to have been related to adornment. There were metal circles of various sizes; 42 of those were very small (>2mm) and are possibly related to jewellery. Another item perhaps related to adornment was a brass hollow tube with decorative cut-out shapes (it looks like a metal shoelace end). There were also a number

of brass tacks found at the site. They could have been used for architectural purposes but the shiny brass material suggests they could have had a decorative function. They may have adorned saddles, gun stocks, or the walls of the cabin.

Some of the other artifacts included a fairly large ferrous hook (maybe used to hang pots over the fire?), possible washers, wire, metal lids (n=4), a possible bale seal (Brandon 2001:20, Figure 18) and a tiny 2 mm diameter spring. The spring may have used in a pocket watch or clock.

5.3.7.3. Unidentified Organic Artifacts

Organic materials account for 10.02% of the Unidentified category (n=96) or 0.68% of the total assemblage. Many of the artifacts were very small and no information about their original form is known. The materials include paper, leather, shell and black oiled canvas.

The oiled canvas is very brittle (Figure 47a). The material should have been waterproof and could have been very versatile. It could have been used as a cloak, a bag or a blanket. It could also have hung in the cabin interior or on the roof to keep out wind and moisture. Not all of the canvas was excavated – a portion of the canvas that was excavated from 28N25.5W continued into the wall. The canvas was easily broken and there was some fear of vandalism at that time so the visible portion was removed. It looks like there are two layers. Since only a portion of the extremely fragile canvas was excavated, its original size can only be estimated.

5.3.7.4. Unidentified Miscellaneous Artifacts

The Unidentified Miscellaneous category contains 177 artifacts (18.57% of the Unidentified category) or 1.26% of the total assemblage. Artifacts included possible fragments of paint or coloured foil, a possible ash sample and several unidentified black items that look like plastic (Figure 47b-c). The black plastic pieces, a piece of soft black rubber (from a shoe sole?) and two pieces of yellow plastic are probably intrusive.

There were tiny fragments of blue, green (Figure 47d) and red materials that looked like brightly coloured clay. The red material was studied under an electron-scanning microscope and noted to be kaolin clay with a high (about 1%) mercury content (Figure 47e). The mercury provided the bright red colour (Tom Bonli, personal communication, 2000). The purpose and source of this material is unknown.

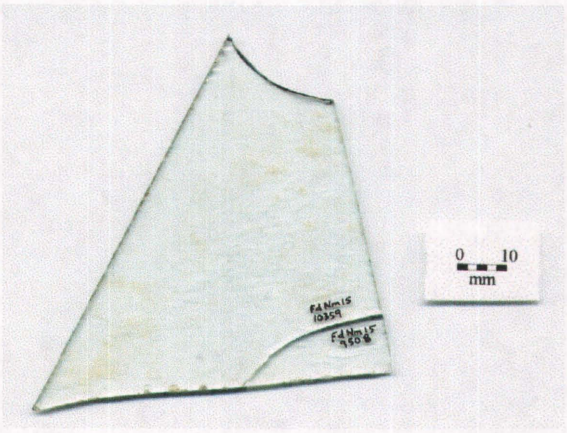


Figure 42: Flat glass.

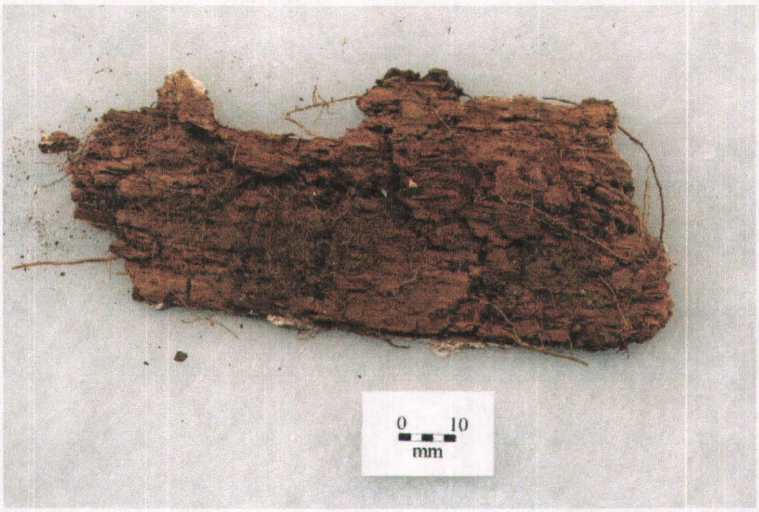


Figure 43: Wood with white plaster on it. Top view shows the wood; bottom view shows the other plastered side.

Figure 44: Architectural hardware: (a) cut nail (b) cut nail with a washer (c) bent cut nail (d) large screw (e) ferrous tack (f) metal strapping with a nail (g) ferrous fastener.

p

q

r

Figure 45: Ammunition: (a) gunflint (b) ridged percussion cap (c) smooth percussion cap (d) cartridge (e) Henry .44 cartridge case (f) Henry .44 cartridge case with 4.30 mm hole drilled into the side (g-j) Eley Brothers shotgun shell casings (see close-ups below) (k) small lead shot (l) lead ball (m) lead bullet (n) lead bullet with three rings (o) lead sprue or homemade lead shot (p) headstamp of Henry cartridges cases (q-r) the two headstamps on the shotgun shell casings. Sketches provided by Erinn Schneider.

Figure 46: Artifacts of unidentified function (a) metal rings (b) brass decorative 'tube' (c) brass tack (d) ferrous hook (e) possible washer (f) wire (g) ferrous lid (h) a possible bale seal.

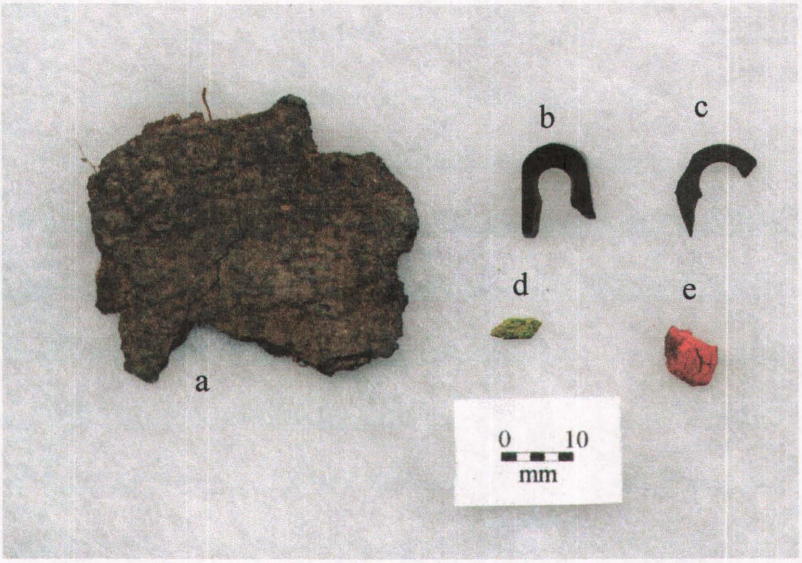


Figure 47: Artifacts of unidentified function (a) oiled canvas (b-c) black plastic? (d) unidentified green material (e) red kaolin clay.

5.3.8. Artifact Distributions

Artifacts are the primary tools of archaeologists for interpreting the past and analyzing culture change. In the 1960s, it was realized that the variability (e.g., the differences and similarities in kinds and quantities of artifacts) of household floor assemblages provided an additional source of information about the past. Early studies of this variability assumed that it was caused by the activities that occurred in the structure. Since the 1970s, the growing awareness of formation processes caused a re-evaluation of activity areas. Efforts were made to identify and control for the effects of various formation processes on the house floor assemblages before attributing the variability to activities (LaMotta and Schiffer 1999:19).

With this in mind, the artifact distributions at Petite Ville were analyzed in the hopes of learning more about the internal organization of the structure. Activity areas were of secondary concern – the small assemblage and the small nature of the artifacts seemed unlikely to indicate any such areas. As well, historical records indicated that Métis space generally served many tasks which would make it very difficult to identify activity areas. However, several possible activity areas were found. The small size of the artifacts makes it likely that the distributions reflect the primary deposition process (LaMotta and Schiffer 1999:21) – the artifacts would have been easily lost and are small enough that the refuse area would not have been intrusive in Métis daily life. This is especially true if a roughly planked floor was present – the artifacts could easily fit between the planks and would not have been disturbed by sweeping or cleaning.

The structure was divided into four general areas to examine the distributions. Area 1 refers to the northern-most portion of the structure's interior; Area 2 refers to the middle portion; and Area 3 refers to the southern-most area (this is based on the room configuration seen in Figure 27c). Area 4 refers to the immediate exterior area of the structure (Figure 48). Area 5 refers to the area where modern privy pits were excavated for the field schools which was quite distant from the structure.

One of the largest problems for comparing the areas (especially the interior of the house) are different sample sizes. Of the interior, fewer units were excavated in Area 3 because of the 2000 excavation constraints discussed earlier. Most of the units followed walls and none of interior two depressions were tested. The other interior

areas had more units placed directly within the interior and within depressions, which were major areas of artifact concentrations. Not surprisingly, Area 3 had the fewest units and has a smaller artifact assemblage than the other two areas (Table 10). The discrepancy in interior area assemblage sizes is attributed to the sampling technique of the excavation.

Area 4 also had a small artifact assemblage (n=238). Very few units were attributed to this area since very few units were placed entirely outside the interior of the structure. Units that contained a portion of the interior were generally assigned to other areas unless absolutely certain that the artifacts were found on the exterior. The small assemblage suggests that the majority of refuse was not disposed of directly adjacent to the home. Of the 6.75 m^2 in Area 4, 59.2% (n=141) of the artifacts were found in one unit, 26.5N26.5W (the second highest artifact total was 25 in 25N21.5W; 26.5N26.5W represents a significant concentration). It is suggested that 26.5N26.5W may be on the edge of a refuse area. It is unknown whether the deposit represents primary, secondary or abandonment refuse.

5.3.8.1. Beads, Fine Wire and Straight Pins

This may seem like an odd assortment of artifact types to group together. However, excavations at Petite Ville strongly suggest that they are related. The major bead distributions will be discussed first and this will lead into a discussion of where all three artifacts are distributed together.

When one refers to the bead distribution at Petite Ville, the reference encompasses essentially the entire adornment category. The adornment category contained 9513 beads and only 16 other artifacts. One of the first things apparent in the bead distribution (Figure 49) is that beads are present in almost every unit. High concentrations (with one exception) do not seem to be found directly adjacent to external wall lines. The question remains, why are beads ubiquitous throughout the site? The proposed explanation relates to the small size of the beads – only 221 beads are bigger than 4 mm. The most common bead is the type IIa that is less than 2 mm in size. These beads would be easily lost and overlooked. The effort required to

Table 10: Distribution of artifact classes by area.

Functional Group	Sub-activity	Area 1	Area 2	Area 3	Area 4	Area 5	Totals	% of Functional Group	% of Total Assemblage
Personal Items							**9819**		**69.97%**
	Clothing	59	34	6	3	0	**102**	1.04%	0.73%
	Adornment	3183	4922	1367	58	0	**9530**	97.06%	67.91%
	Body Care	2	15	0	0	0	**17**	0.17%	0.12%
	Indulgences	19	5	3	3	0	**30**	0.31%	0.21%
	Pastimes/Crafts	124	3	1	0	0	**128**	1.30%	0.91%
	Ritual	1	1	0	0	0	**2**	0.02%	0.01%
	Pocket Tools	1	0	0	0	0	**1**	0.01%	0.01%
	Recreation	2	5	1	1	0	**9**	0.09%	0.06%
Household Items							**1033**		**7.36%**
	Food Preparation and Consumption	308	108	71	30	0	**517**	50.05%	3.68%
	Education	27	8	1	0	0	**36**	3.48%	0.26%
	Sewing	441	36	2	1	0	**480**	46.47%	3.42%
Architecture							**552**		**3.93%**
	Materials	38	17	18	34	0	**107**	19.38%	0.76%
	Hardware	182	131	91	41	0	**445**	80.62%	3.17%
Transportation							**7**		**0.05%**
	Maintenance	1	4	2	0	0	**7**	100.00%	0.05%
Commerce & Industry							**829**		**5.91%**
	Hunting	362	370	67	9	0	**808**	97.47%	5.76%
	Manufacturing	15	3	3	0	0	**21**	2.53%	0.15%
Precontact							**835**		**5.95%**
	FCR	99	5	10	0	123	**237**	28.38%	1.69%
	Lithic Tools	4	0	1	0	2	**7**	0.84%	0.05%
	Flakes/Debitage	444	74	31	14	26	**589**	70.54%	4.20%
	Ceramics	2	0	0	0	0	**2**	0.24%	0.01%
Unidentified							**958**		**6.83%**
	Glass	251	48	6	4	1	**310**	32.36%	2.21%
	Metal	145	200	18	12	0	**375**	39.14%	2.67%
	Miscellaneous	27	145	1	4	0	**177**	18.48%	1.26%
	Organic	32	35	5	24	0	**96**	10.02%	0.68%
TOTAL		**5769**	**6169**	**1705**	**238**	**152**	**14033**		

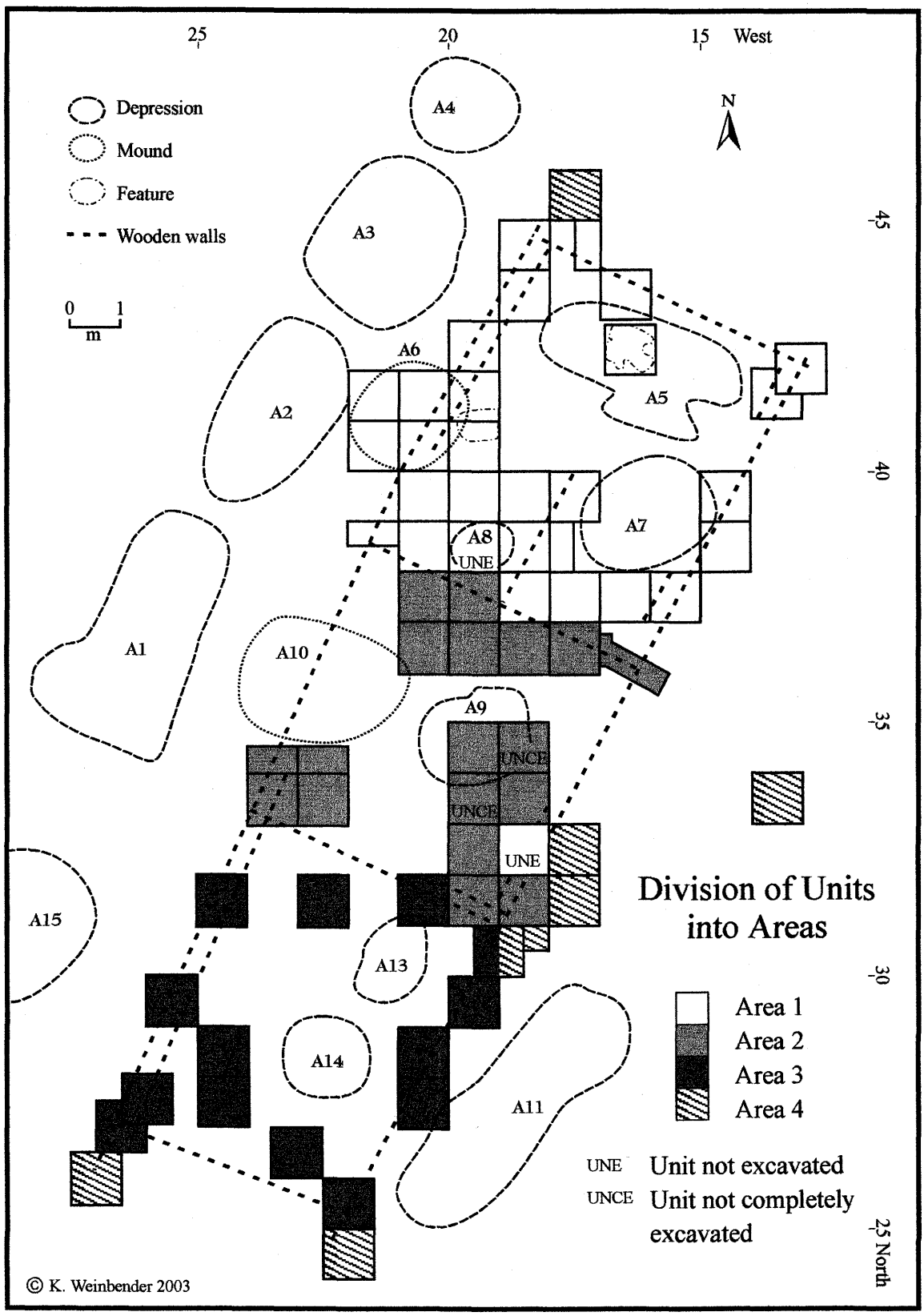


Figure 48: The division of units into the different areas. Area 5 is not visible on this map.

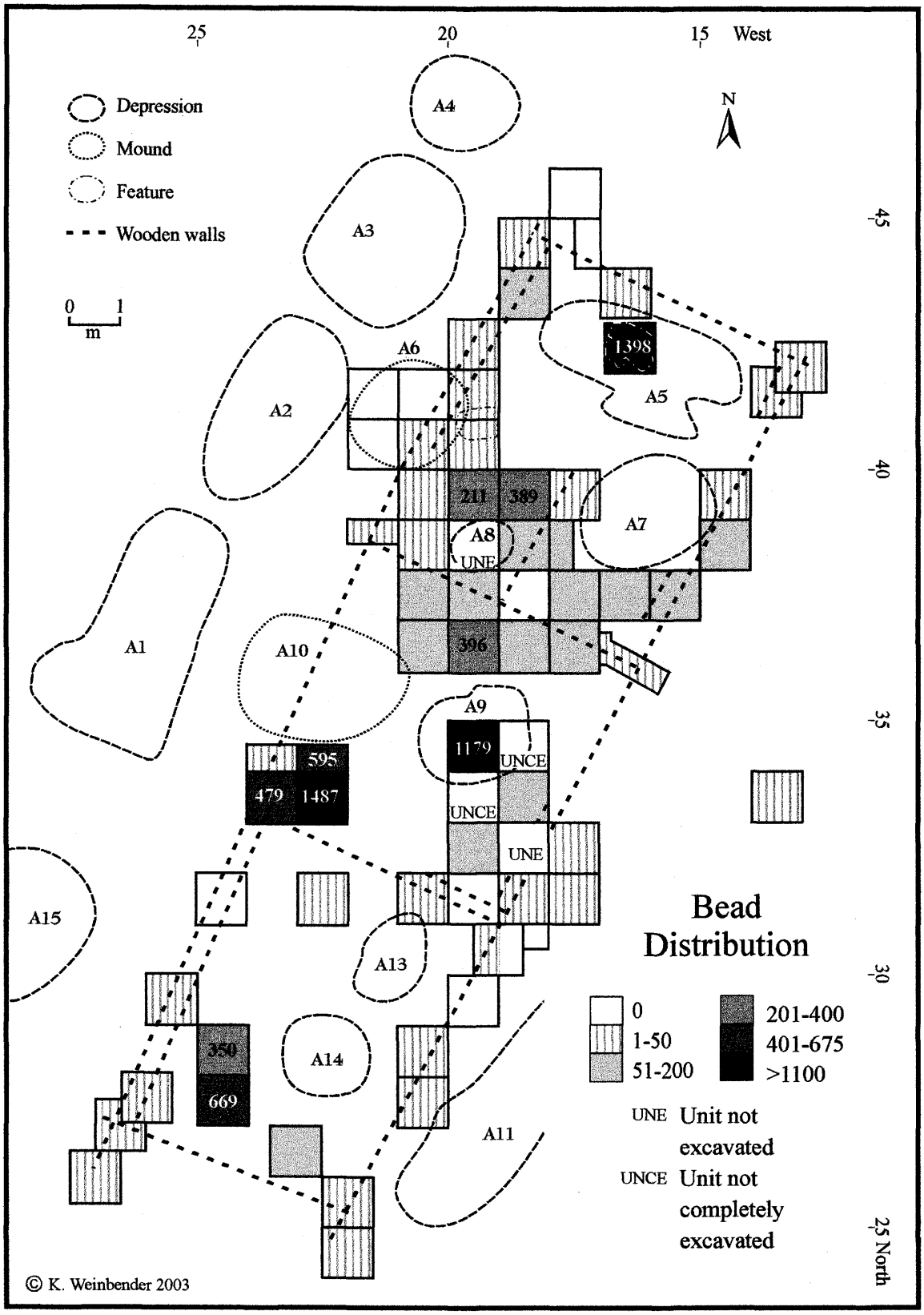


Figure 49: Distribution of beads at Petite Ville. The exact number of beads is shown for the units with the highest amounts.

find and re-capture them was time-consuming for the archaeologists – the Métis probably could not be bothered!! The simple act of moving a small number of beads could result in a wide-spread distribution through loss, e.g., moving beads in your hand and having a few fall through your fingers as you move from the storage area to a working area. They could also fall off clothing, blankets, moccasins, hair-pieces, etc. This distribution would remain similar with or without internal walls.

However, there are six areas where beads occur in higher numbers that cannot be attributed to loss alone. Three extremely high concentrations can be seen in the distribution. They coincide with the three most productive units simply because beads dominate the artifact counts. Two of those concentrations are in storage/refuse pits (43N16W, n=1398 [Area 1] and 35N19W, n=1179 [Area 2]), which should have high concentrations of artifacts because of their function. It could be argued that the depressions would act as artifact "traps," enhancing the artifact concentrations.

This does not explain the third concentration in 34N22W (Area 2) which has the highest bead concentration of all (n=1487). When combined with the bead totals in the adjacent units, 34.5N22W and 34N23W (n=595 and 479), the total climbs to 2561. Almost 30% of the total beads can be found in this area. There are several possible explanations for such a concentration. It could be the result of repeated purposeful actions such as bead working. It could have also resulted from storing the beads in this location and never retrieving them. Their presence could have also been the result of an accidental spill.

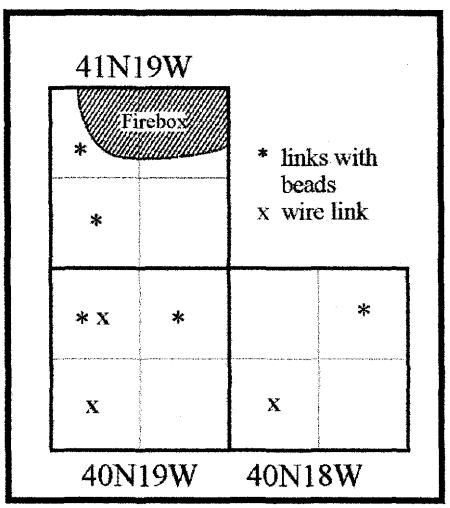
The concentration was probably not caused by the decomposition of a beaded blanket or piece of clothing. The survival rate of organic material like fabric and thread was fairly good at Petite Ville and disturbance was low. If this had been a decomposed decorated piece of fabric, one would have expected to see some evidence of the original pattern or material.

There are several other bead types (Ic, IIb and IVa) with high concentrations in this area besides the IIa type. The bead types are all drawn and usually smaller than 6 mm (i.e., not large or very large beads). The presence of high concentrations of multiple bead types of the smaller varieties suggests that the accidental spill is not the best explanation. There is still the possibility that the beads were stored in this area,

although nothing suggested that a storage container was present (it is admitted that an organic container may not have left any trace). However, it is felt that the hypothesis of multiple bead-working sessions may be the best explanation for the variety and large number of beads encountered.

There are three other smaller concentrations of beads: near the southwest corner in units 28N24W and 29N24W (Area 3), north of the depression A9 in unit 37N19W (Area 2), and south of the firebox in units 40N18W and 40N20W (Area 1). Certainly, the explanations of accidental spillage, storage or bead-working activities can also be proposed for these areas. However, for the first two areas, the lower number of beads suggests that if bead working was the cause, the activity did not occur as often in these areas. The second area could also be related to the high concentration in the cellar, as an extension of its catchment area.

Figure 50: Distribution of chain links around chimney area.



The third area seems to be the result of a different activity. The high concentration of beads coincides with high concentrations of straight pins and fine bent wire. The other artifacts found here are beads on bent wire – like a necklace or bracelet chain links (Figure 50).

Straight pins were classified under the Household category because, at first, sewing seemed to be the logical activity for which they would be used. However, as the analysis progressed, it became obvious that something was odd with the straight pins. They rarely occurred whole. The head portion of the pin often occurred alone or with a tiny piece of shank attached. The shanks appeared to have been cut or snipped off. Numerous short pieces of thin, bent wire were found. After finding some pieces of "wire" with sharp points and straight pin heads, it was decided that straight pins were likely not being used primarily for sewing purposes.

The distribution of straight pin fragments (Figure 51) and fine wire (Figure 52) have their highest concentrations in the same area, south of the firebox and particularly in units 40N19W and 40N18W. There is a substantial bead presence in the area, with the largest sizes of beads concentrated here. Besides the rosary fragments, the several pieces of chain and the chain links excavated were also found in the area.

One proposed explanation for the concentrations, as well as for the snipped straight pins, is jewellery making. The straight pins were cut to provide short, flexible pieces of wire that could be bent into various shapes like s's, u's, barbells, circles and loops. Some of these shapes could form chain links for necklaces, bracelets, earrings, attachment to clothing, etc. Beads could also be put on these links for a more colourful piece. It was also suggested that if the Métis wished, they could use this material to make other rosaries for themselves. If this is the case, there were no signs of extra medallions or crosses, but something could have been substituted for them, such as a large bead or one of a specific colour.

Adornment does not seem to be the only use for the snipped straight pins. They also seem to be used as fasteners, likely on clothing. One shaft was bent into the shape of a hook. Some of the other shapes have the sharp point of the straight pin still attached. The sharp point suggests they may have been used to decorate harder materials such as wood. However, the point could have been used to go through softer material like fabric and then bent so that the point would not injure the wearer.

The manipulation of straight pins suggests that several items may have been difficult for the Métis to obtain or the items that were available were not up to Métis standards. These include ready-made metal closures such as eye and hook clothing fasteners. The once-expensive straight pins must have been easier (or cheaper) to obtain than fine wire that could have used for both jewellery making and crafting metal fasteners. Historical information suggests fine wire would have been expensive and probably difficult to obtain. All special wire grades were imported to Canada until about 1885 (B. Greening Wire Company Ltd. 1889[7]:8-9). There seems to have been

[7] The date of publishing is actually unknown. The University of Saskatchewan library believed it was published about 1889.

limited availability. The time and effort required to manipulate the straight pin shafts must have been high but the cost of obtaining fine grade wire must have been higher.

5.3.8.2. Ceramic Pipes

There are several different ceramic pipes at Petite Ville and the possibility of one stone pipe. In all likelihood, more pipes were present, especially the more durable stone pipes that would have been kept by the Métis after they moved on. Historically, both men and women smoked pipes, although men seem to smoke more (Figure 5 shows both a man and woman smoking pipes; refer also to Ross 1957:193; Peterson 1958:47; Robinson 1972:50). Presumably, the pipe fragments at Petite Ville are remnants of leisure and socializing activities. It was hoped that the distribution of different pipes would be limited to specific areas which could be used in the argument for room placement. There were at least three pipes in Area 1, two pipes in Area 2, a possible pipe found in Area 3 and one pipe found in Area 4, just outside the southwest corner of Area 3 (Figure 53). These are all distinct pipes so, in theory, they support the hypothesis of internal partitions. In reality, since most of the pipes are really only represented by one fragment, such a distribution is perhaps not that reliable.

5.3.8.3. Other Personal Items

Most of the artifacts did not show any specific distribution concentrations. The quantity of buttons is greater in Area 1, especially compared to Area 3. However, this may be due simply to sampling size. Portions of combs are found within Area 1 and Area 2. Most of these pieces were found within storage/refuse pits – something that was not excavated in Area 3. Organic material like cloth, leather and oiled canvas were found most commonly in the two refuse/storage pits but were found in other units as well (Figure 54).

5.3.8.4. Household Ceramics

The patterned earthenware ceramics have fairly unique distributions but were not that helpful for understanding the internal organization (Figure 55). They also do not indicate activity areas. Nine of the 13 patterns have a limited distribution, which can be seen in Table 11. Unfortunately, the ceramics were found in limited quantities or were highly fragmented. The amount of ceramics suggests that each pattern was represented

by one vessel – most vessels were represented by one sherd[8]. "Distribution" usually implies that there are multiple sherds of the same vessel. While the distributions may not prove helpful for distinguishing rooms, they still need to be discussed.

Table 11: Distribution of ceramic patterns at Cluster A.

Ceramic Patterns	Area 1	Area 2	Area 3	Area 4	Totals
B700 (flowblue)	23	0	0	0	**23**
B772 (flowblue)	2	0	0	0	**2**
Continental Views/ Louis Quatorze (light purple)	0	0	5	9	**14**
Flower Vase (dark blue)	0	0	1	0	**1**
Pagoda/Macaw (flowblue)	0	2	0	0	**2**
Pergola (light blue)	32	1	0	0	**33**
Rose & Sprigs/ Sevres? (flowblue)	0	0	8	4	**12**
White with brown stripes	0	0	0	1	**1**
White/grey	1	0	0	0	**1**
Unidentified dark blue [DB-a] (oak leaves and fence on interior)	2	0	0	1	**3**
Unidentified dark blue [DB-b] (oak leaves and fence on exterior; ivy leaves on interior)	0	0	0	4	**4**
Unidentified white pattern on dark blue	1	0	0	0	**1**
Unidentified black on white	3	0	0	0	**3**
Unidentified burned sherd	0	1	0	0	**1**
Unidentified purple on white	0	0	1	0	**1**
White earthenware	11	1	6	1	**19**
Unidentified flowblue	23	2	25	3	**53**
Unidentified blue	3	0	0	0	**3**
Exfoliated on both sides	5	0	1	0	**6**
Totals	**106**	**7**	**47**	**23**	**183**

The patterns found in Area 1 are B700, B772, the unidentified white on blue and the unidentified grey on white. Area 2 has the pattern Pagoda, while Area 3 has Flower Vase. Pergola is found in both Area 1 and 2; the sherds cross-mend and are from one vessel. Continental Views is found in Area 3 and directly outside Area 3. The Rose and Sprigs pattern was found in Area 3, the extreme southwest corner of the structure (which is just outside Area 3) and in 34N13W which is a good distance away from Area 3 and

[8] The highly fragmented nature of the ceramics means that a vessel may be represented by 17 sherds that refit into one piece, about 5 cm in size.

removed from the entire structure. The dark blue "a" pattern was found in Area 1 and then at the extreme southwest corner of the structure, outside the building (near Area 3). The dark blue "b" pattern was found just outside of Area 1. The unidentified brown and white pattern was found just outside Areas 1 and 2.

The unidentified purple pattern was found in Area 3 – the same location as the purple Continental Views. The unidentified light blue fragments were found in Area 1 where the Pergola was present. Unidentified flowblue was found throughout the interior but each area had at least one identified flowblue pattern present.

The interior distribution of the Pergola sherds present the largest problem to the room hypothesis. The 32 sherds in Area 1 refit into two larger fragments which then refits to a third piece from Area 2. The sherds are from one vessel that broke and became distributed over a wide area. If walls were present, the distribution presumably would have been limited to one room, not two. It is unknown if there were internal doors – the rooms could have been linked which could account for wider distribution.

5.3.8.5. Other Household Artifacts

Pen nibs, pencil lead and writing slate are distributed throughout the house but are present in greater numbers in the northern area (Figure 56). Lead foil was found everywhere with the highest concentrations in the storage/refuse pits. Cans were not common at the site unless they were being disposed of elsewhere. The dark green bottle glass was limited to two units – 42N13W (Area 1) and 35N19W (Area 2). Two bottles *may* be represented with a different base in each unit.

5.3.8.6. Architectural and Transportation Artifacts

Nails were distributed through the site with the highest concentrations coinciding with the two depressions. Another concentration occurred with wood and metal strapping fragments in 28N24W (Area 3). Flat glass was concentrated south of the chimney which suggests that there was a pane glass window on the west wall. The distributions of chinking and plaster are only indicative of where samples were taken during the field schools, rather than Métis activity.

A few horseshoe nails and a possible piece of tack are the only evidence of the 500 horses that were once at Petite Ville. The presence of the horseshoe nails inside the residence is not unexpected, given the importance of horses in Métis society. If

anything, the archaeological indicators of horses or oxen were surprisingly sparse. In all likelihood, this is due to the fact that the excavations occurred mainly inside a residence but it was thought that more such artifacts would be found.

5.3.8.7. Ammunition

It was hoped that ammunition would support internal partitions by having different gun types in each area. Unfortunately, that support is weak at best and non-existent at worst. A gunflint was found in Area 3 by the field school and in Area 1 by Burley et al. (1992:Table 2). The single centre-fire cartridge casing was found in Area 1; rimfire and shotgun shell cartridges were in Area 1 and 2. The most interesting distribution was that of lead shot. Lead shot was found everywhere but the highest concentration did not coincide with a depression (Figure 57). Instead it was found in the southern portion of 37N16W. One possible explanation for this is that someone split a container of shot and could not be bothered to pick them up since they were small and probably hard to see. Evidence for manufacturing lead shot was not concentrated in any area, occurring in several units.

5.3.8.8. Precontact Materials

Precontact materials at Petite Ville consist almost entirely of lithics[9]. Only two pieces of precontact ceramics were found and they were located in 40N18W and 43N16W, which are both in Area 1. The lithic distribution is almost as ubiquitous as beads. So why would a historic Métis site have a variety of lithics scattered throughout?

Burley et al. (1992:55) tackled this same issue, albeit with a smaller distribution. The 1986 excavations noted a precontact level situated about 10 cm or more below the historic occupation. The strata had been heavily disturbed by Métis activity and the lithics were interpreted as intrusive. The ubiquitous lithic distribution is the outcome of Métis construction activities which impacted on the precontact strata and then saw the earth being dragged throughout and over the entire site.

The two highest lithic concentrations from the field school excavations support Burley's hypothesis. The highest amount of lithic material was removed from 43N16W which had more than twice the amount of any other unit (Figure 58). Here, the high

[9] Unfortunately, due to the mixing, it is unknown how much of the faunal material is actually precontact, rather historic.

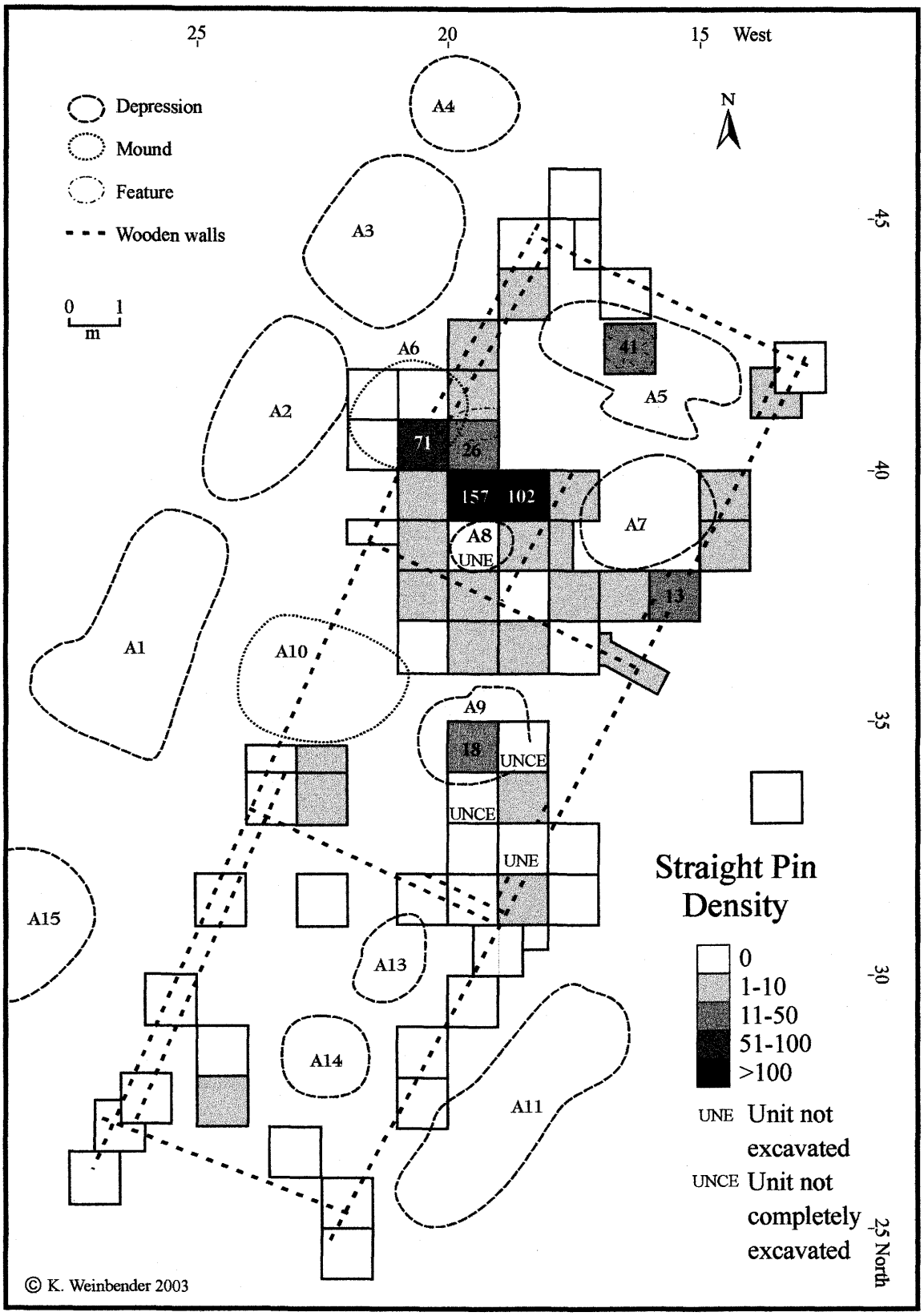


Figure 51: Distribution of straight pins at Petite Ville.

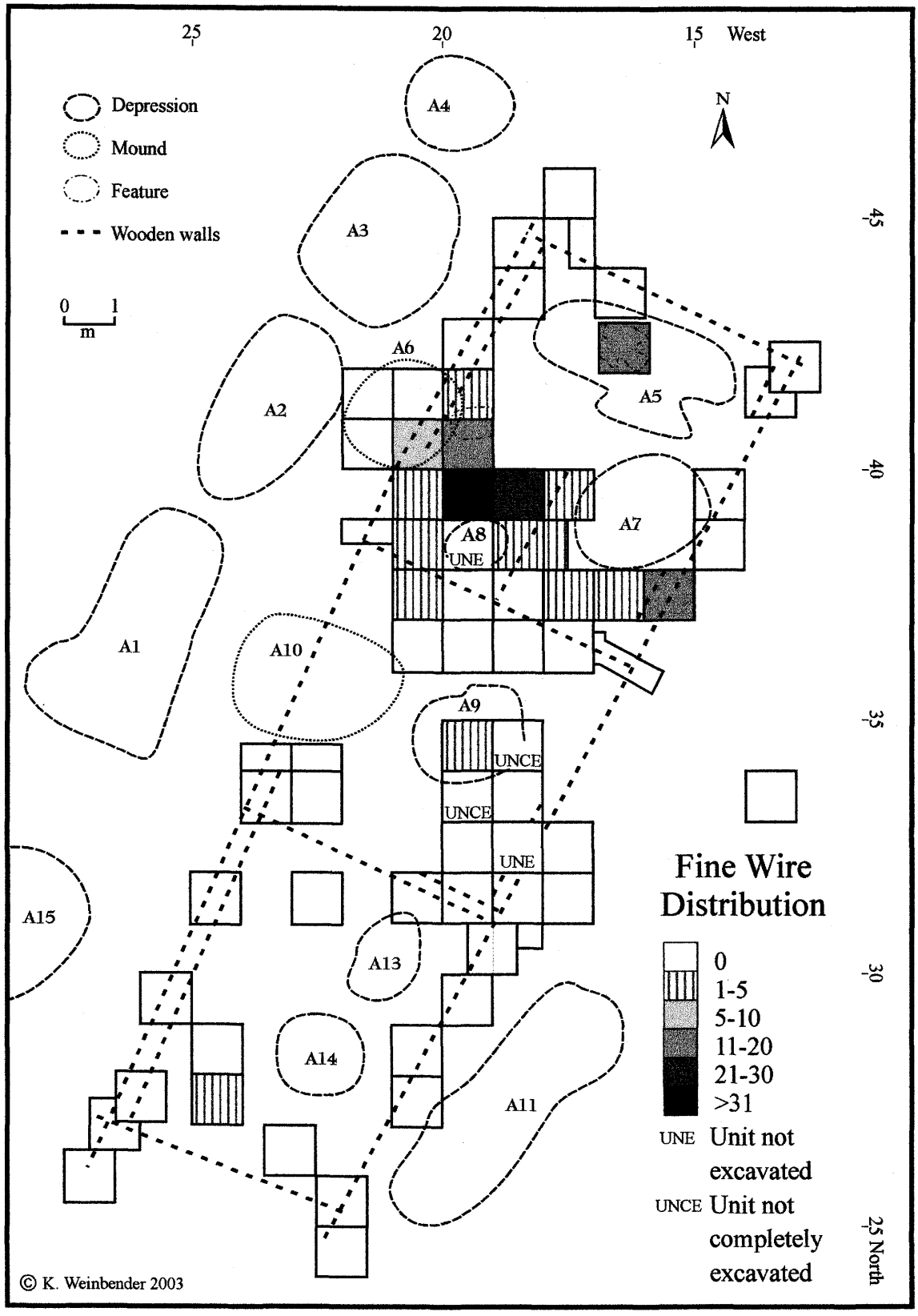


Figure 52: Distribution of fine, bent wire at Petite Ville.

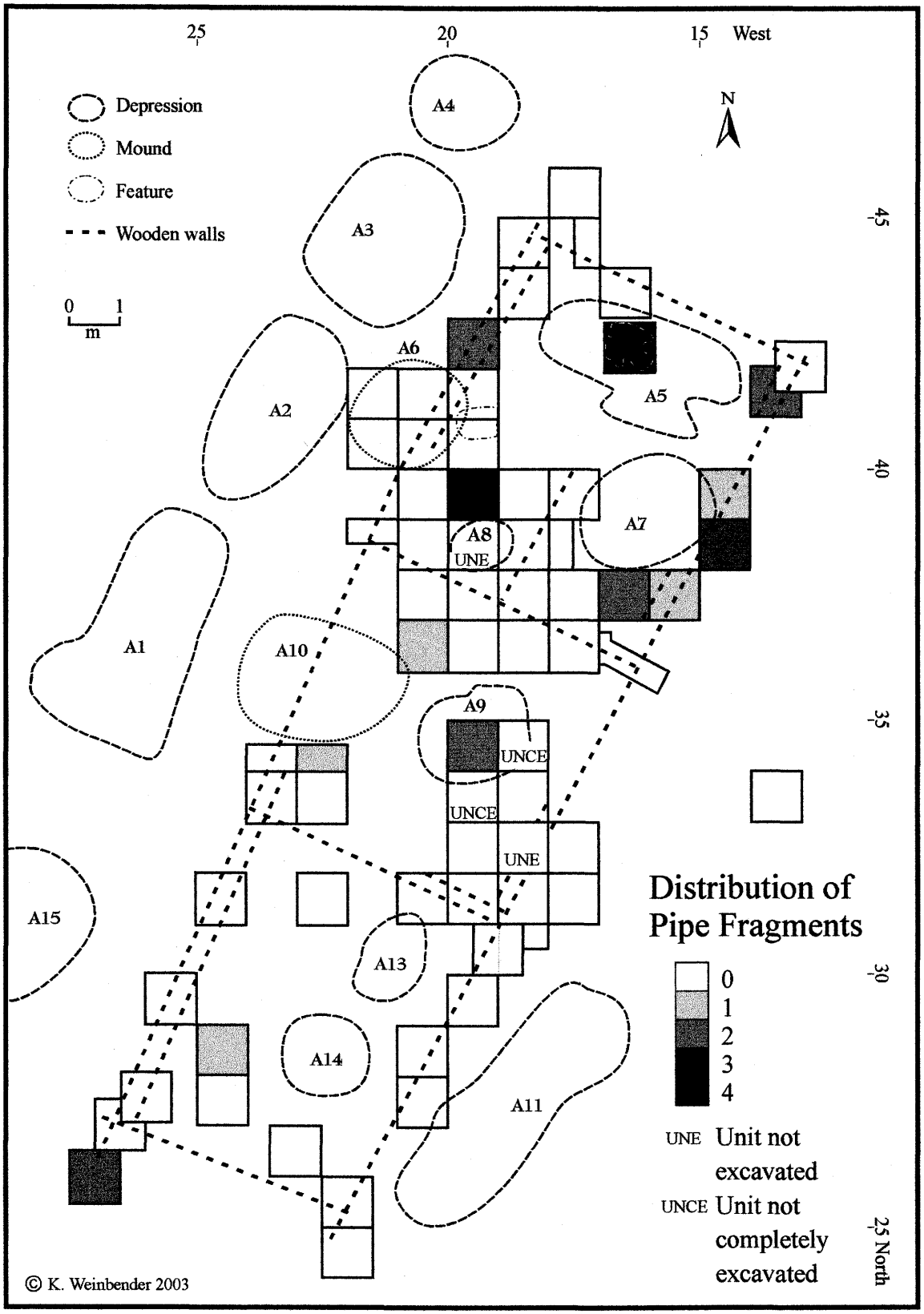


Figure 53: Distribution of pipe fragments at Petite Ville.

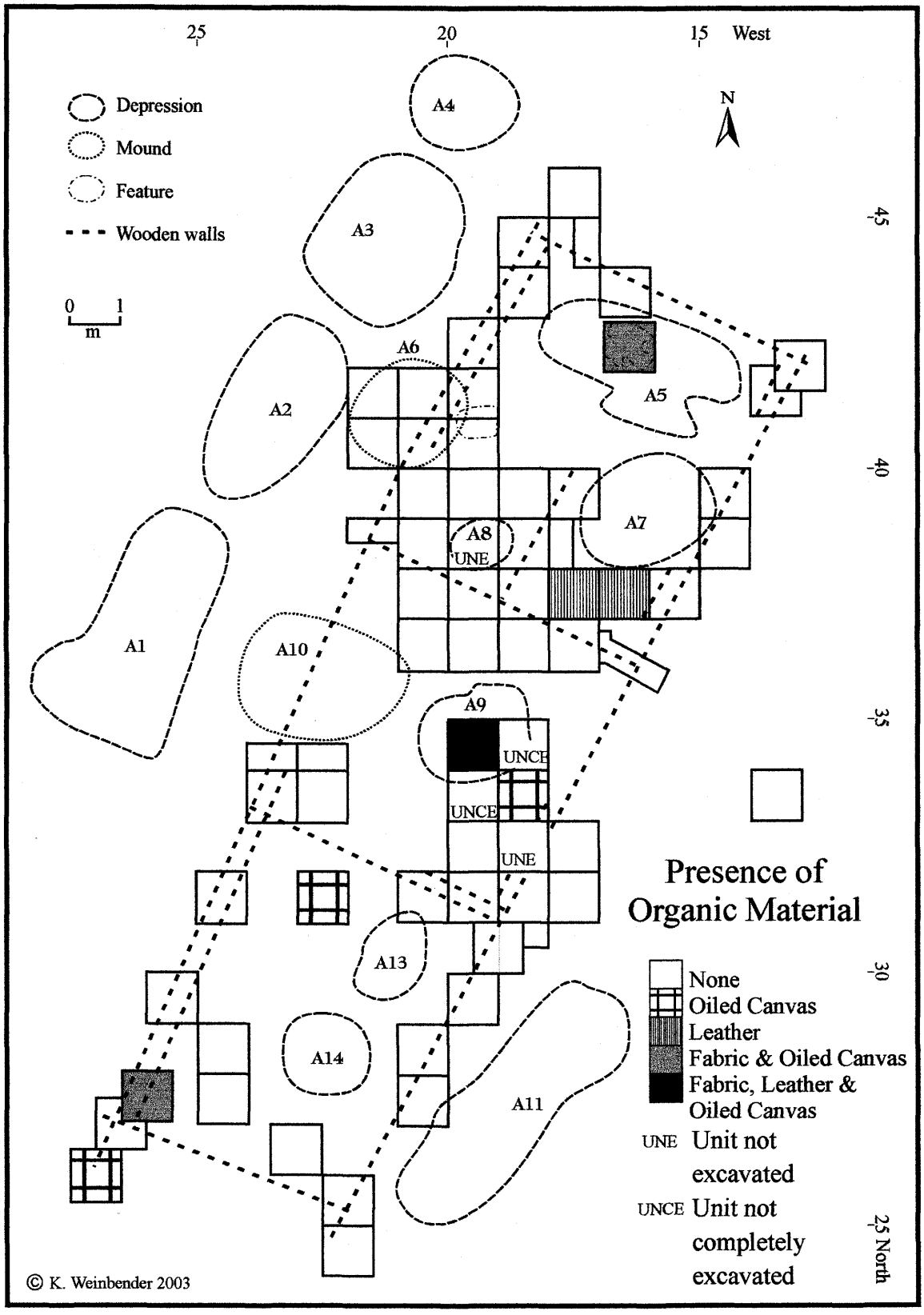


Figure 54: Distribution of organic material.

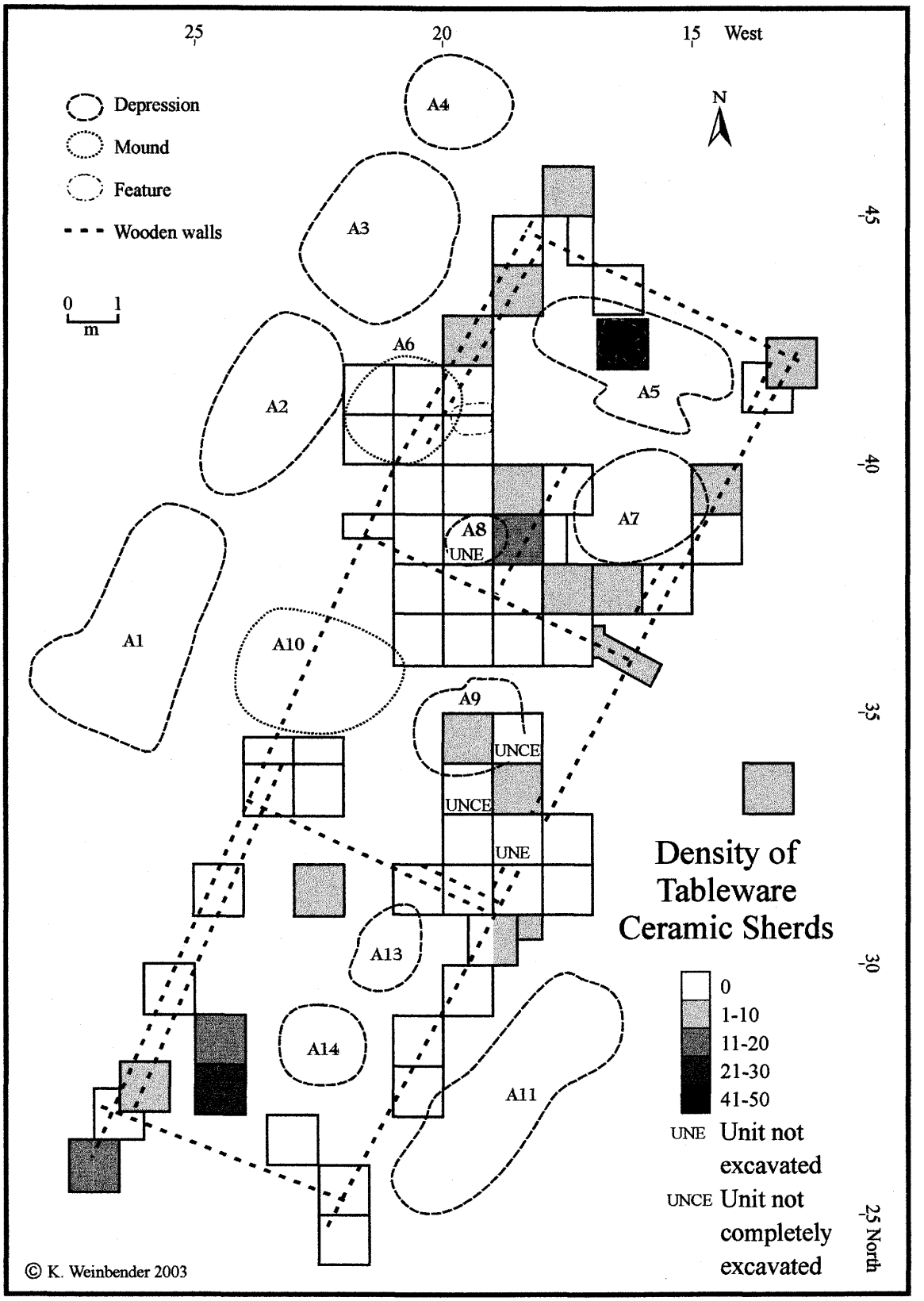


Figure 55: Distribution of tableware ceramic sherds at Petite Ville.

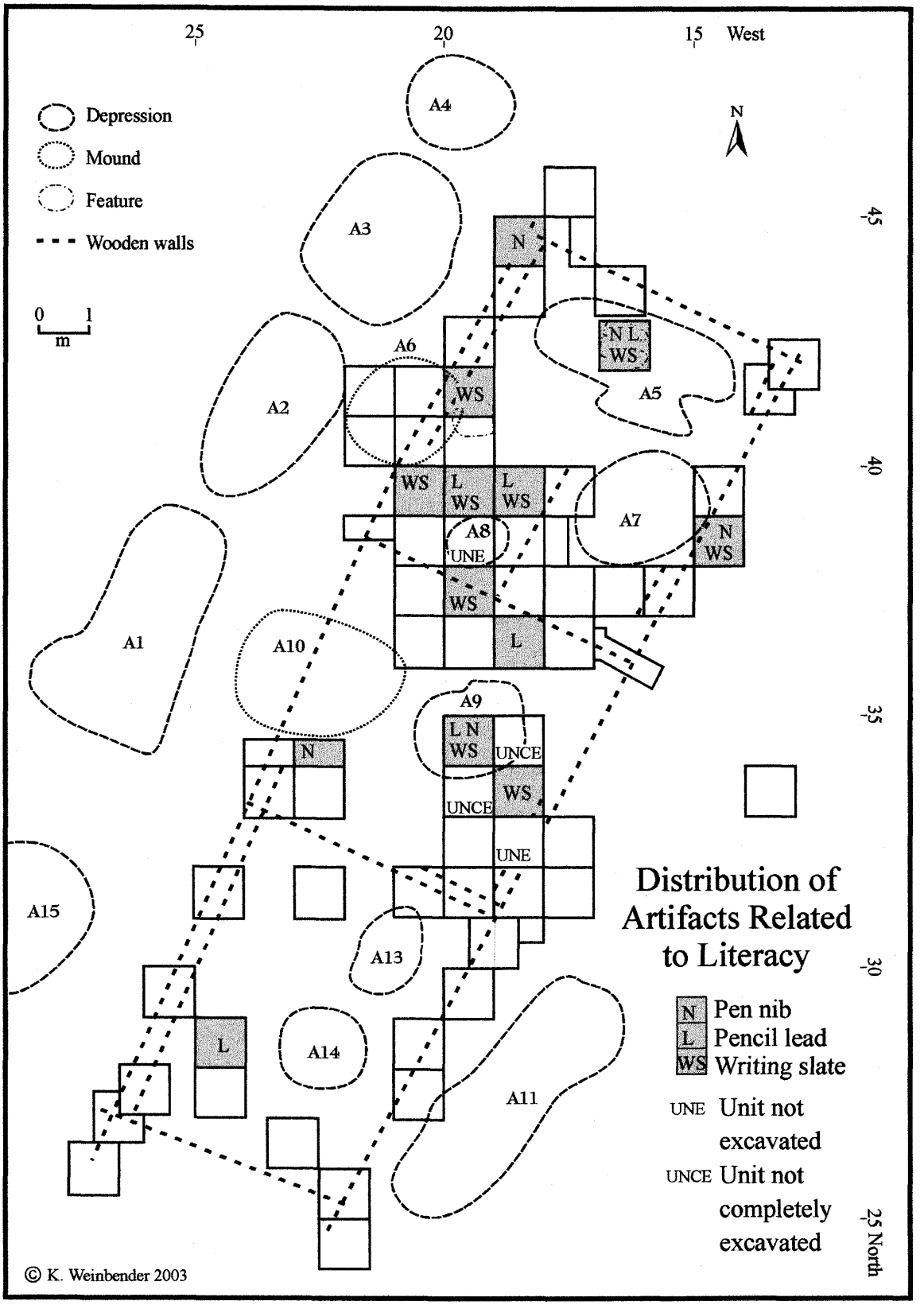


Figure 56: Distribution of artifacts related to literacy and/or education at Petite Ville.

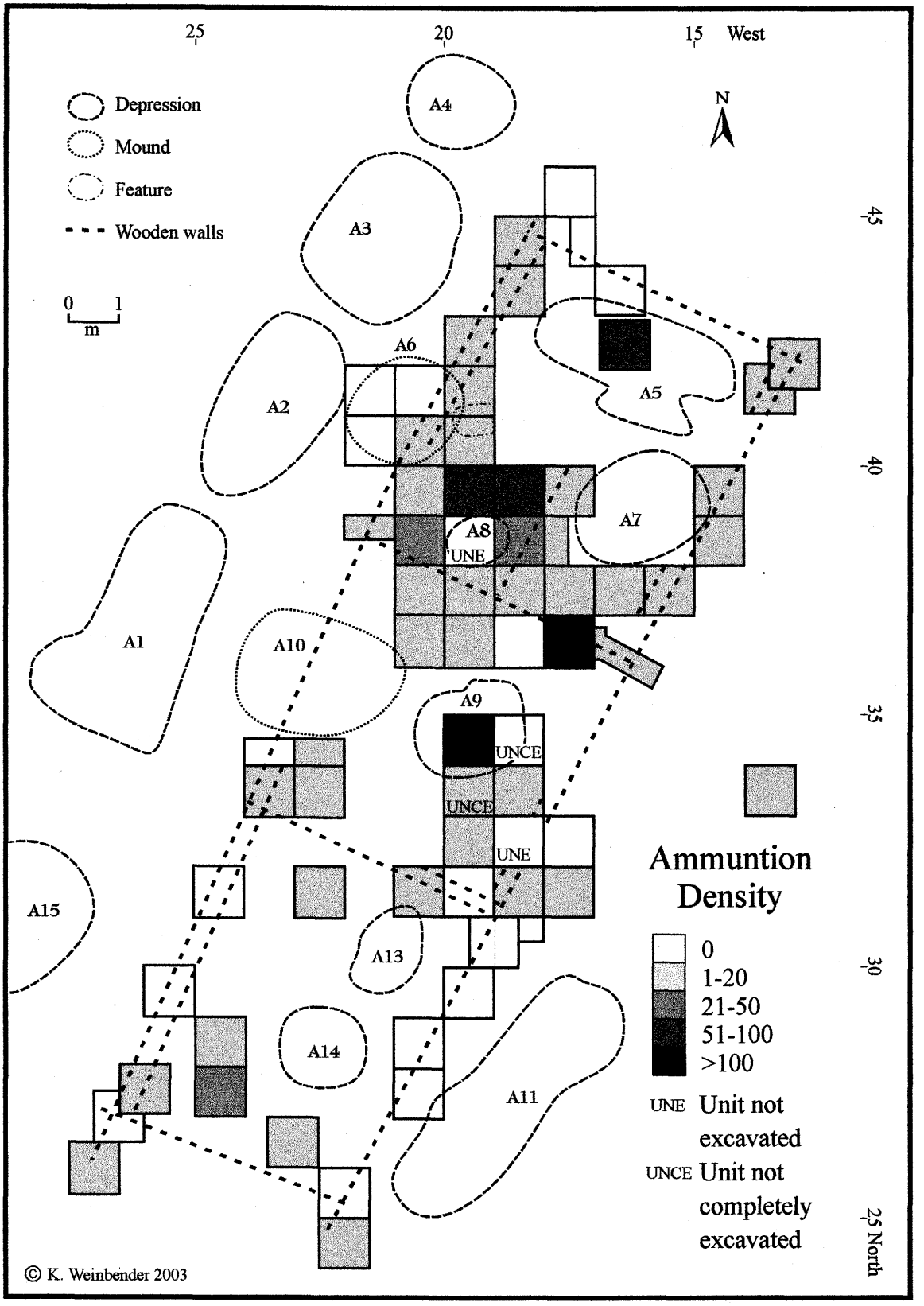


Figure 57: Distribution of ammunition at Petite Ville.

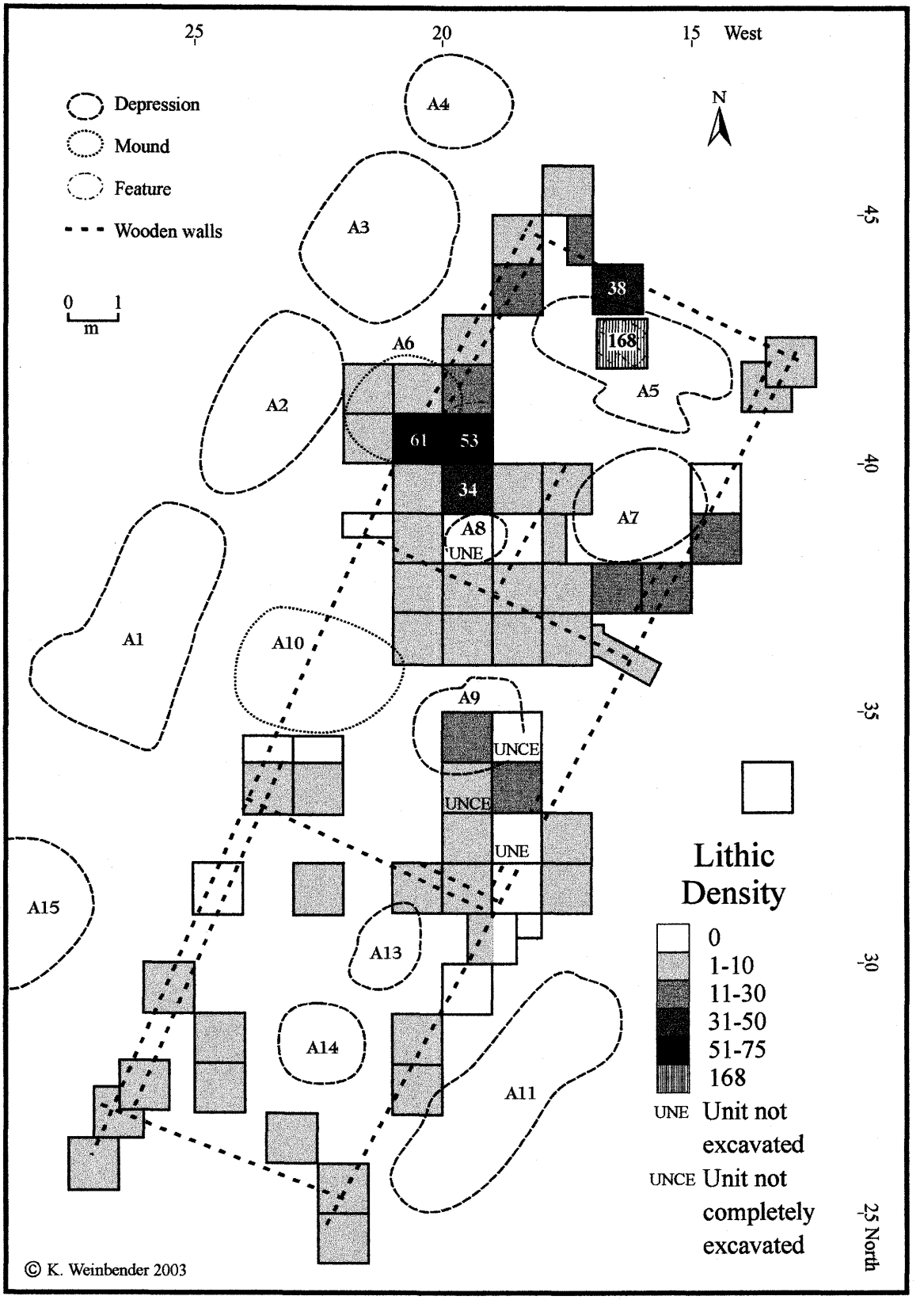


Figure 58: Distribution of precontact lithic material at Petite Ville.

lithic concentration is the result of excavating through two precontact levels – one surrounding the wooden platform and the other beneath the mottled soil. The other concentration is around the chimney/firebox area. Burley noted the precontact strata had been disturbed by Métis activity, especially digging mudding pits to access clay. The chimney area has the highest concentration of clay which also means it has the highest concentration of dirt excavated through the precontact level(s) by the Métis. The high flake count is the direct result of using large amounts of clay for the chimney construction. It is assumed that a more extensive excavation of the other mound, A10, would exhibit a similar concentration of precontact materials.

5.4. Faunal Assemblage

An analysis of the entire faunal assemblage of Petite Ville was not completed for reasons stated earlier. Although not a faunal expert, I could see some trends in the material. The bone was recovered in good condition although some root etching was apparent. Very few specimens were burned or calcined. Much of the bone was small and the elements were usually complete. Due to the fine-screening, some extremely small pieces were recovered. Very few large bones or large bone fragments were recovered. I would estimate that the faunal assemblage is equal to or larger than the artifact assemblage, which means that over 14,000 pieces are present. However, the assemblage fits into five standard size file boxes which is a good indicator of the small nature of the assemblage. We also found several complete skeletons of small mammals (like gophers and shrews) that were intrusive.

Simone Hudon examined a small portion of the 1998 faunal material for an undergraduate class project. Due to time constraints, she analyzed the material from one unit, 35N19W. It is believed that this material (though limited) is a good indicator of the faunal assemblage recovered from Petite Ville. The unit, located in a cellar depression, contained 45% (1455 specimens) of the 1998 faunal assemblage (n=3212). Only about 24% of the 1455 specimens were identifiable – the use of fine-screen resulted in the collection of much unidentifiable material (Hudon 1998:1-3).

The Osteichthyes, Aves and Mammalia classes are all present. The Osteichthyes specimens (scales and bones) were unidentified since the scales had dried out. Both waterfowl and terrestrial birds are represented. The order Anseriformes was represented

by two genera, *Anas sp.* and *Aytha sp.*, and some of the remains are duck sized. The Galliformes order contains *Tympanuchus phasianellus* (sharp-tailed grouse) and *Tympanuchus sp.* (Hudon 1998:4).

The largest quantity of faunal material was Mammalian with four orders represented: Lagomorpha, Rodentia, Carnivora and Artiodactyla. Lagomorpha included the remains of *Lepus americanus* (snowshoe hare) and Lepus sp. Muskrat (*Ondatra zibethicus*) dominated the Rodentia specimens, with only one other species, *Spermophilus richardsonii* (Richardson's ground squirrel), identified. The Carnivora and Artiodactyla orders are not well represented with one incisor tooth from a *Vulpes vulpes* (Red fox) and one molar tooth from *Odocoileus sp.* (probably deer). The few large mammal specimens consisted of ribs, sternebrae and long bone shaft fragments[10] (Hudon 1998:4-5).

The faunal material was quantified using NISP (the number of identified specimens per taxon) and MNI (minimum number of individuals). A summary of the findings can be seen in Table 12.

Table 12: Quantification of the faunal remains (based on Hudon 1998:6-8).

Species	NISP	MNI
Osteichthyes	44	--
Tympanuchus phasianellus	18	2
Tympanuchus sp.	6	1
Anas sp.	6	2
Anas sp. or *Aythya sp.*	1	1
Aythya sp.	1	1
Avian	20	3 or 4
Lepus americanus	73	4
Lepus sp.	9	1
Ondatra zibethicus	55	5
Sperophilus richardsonii	1	1
Vulpes vulpes	1	1[11]
Odocoileus sp.	1	1[12]
Mammals, small	110	--
Mammals, large	4	--

[10] No number is given.
[11] Presence indicated by a tooth which does not directly influence MNI but is worth noting.
[12] Presence indicated by a tooth which does not directly influence MNI but is worth noting.

The results of Hudon's analysis, combined with the preliminary faunal sorting and cleaning, indicate that large mammals (such as bison and deer) are not well-represented at Cluster A. This would appear to contradict the identification of Petite Ville as a base camp for bison hunters. There are a number of explanations why bison is almost completely absent from the site:

1. bison were often butchered at the kill site. Much of the meat was converted into dried meat or pemmican, which leave no archaeological indicators. Much of the bony bison carcass would never have been transported back to Petite Ville in the first place;
2. the *interior* of one structure was excavated. The majority of bison bones may have been discarded outside the structure and the archaeological deposits have not been found; or
3. the bison hunts failed and other animals had to be relied upon for food.

Of course, the best explanation would include all three. As discussed earlier, some of the hunts did fail which would account for less archaeological evidence of bison. However, the bison that was killed was almost certainly butchered at the kill site and little of the bony carcass would have been transported back to Petite Ville to be found. Without further excavation, it impossible to know if there are separate refuse areas outside the structure which may contain more faunal remains, including bison. The South Saskatchewan River was also a convenient "garbage dump", even in winter, since spring would carry all the garbage away.

The presence of the other species is interesting because it does indicate that bison was not the only animal utilized. However, there is not enough evidence to conclude that the Métis were forced to rely on these animals because bison hunting failed. The animals may represent the desire for a more diverse diet – muskrat in particular was regarded as a winter delicacy by the Métis (Palliser 1863:80). These animals could have been trapped or hunted by any Métis, including women, children or older men. The animals could also have been hunted for their fur or feathers, as well as the meat.

A complete analysis of the faunal material has not been done but the preliminary data do contain some useful information. The Métis utilized a variety of animals and the "bison hunter" diet was more diverse than the name implies. The animals may be

present because of a bison shortage but more likely the animals were hunted because the Métis enjoyed the meat and fur/feathers these animals provided.

5.5. Discussion

There are still many unanswered questions about the structure, even after considering the artifact and faunal assemblages. It is proposed that a minimum of two rooms are present but that three rooms are likely. However, the proposed internal organization cannot be asserted with absolute confidence. The southern-most area did not have an identified heat source which makes its designation as living quarters problematic. It should be noted that the large mounds found at Cluster A are not present at the majority of the other clusters. This suggests that heat sources for the other structures might prove elusive –the absence of large mounds may not indicate the absence of a chimney. A metal stove could have been present, which would leave little archaeological evidence. The other possibility is that the third room would have been used for storage and heat was unnecessary.

Area 3 has a lower number of artifacts than the other two interior areas which also affects the functional interpretation of the area. There are two possible explanations for the lower numbers. The sample size in Area 3 is smaller and the sample was largely restricted to the area around walls – not much of the interior was tested. No depressions were tested either, which held major artifact concentrations in the other areas. The difference in sampling could account for the lower number of artifacts. On the other hand, one could use Métis activity to explain the assemblage variation. If the area functioned as a storage room, rather than living quarters, one might expect different artifact types or different artifact frequencies.

There are several reasons to believe that Area 3 is a room and that it functioned as a residence. Testing from 1986 did identify a possible storage pit/cellar which likely has an artifact concentration similar to the other depressions (Burley et al. 1992:55). The artifact types that were recovered were similar to the other areas of the home – the same activities (living and socializing) seem to be occurring throughout the interior. The lower artifact frequencies seem due entirely to the sample size and strategy, rather than Métis activity. The artifact assemblage does seem to support the identification of Area 3 as a residential room, even though a heat source has not been identified.

The proposed number of people living in the structure depends upon how much of the interior is believed to be living quarters. With 40-50 families living at Petite Ville during any one wintering season and only 28 clusters, more than one family would have to live at a cluster. The historical data support this – Blaireau stated that multiple families lived in each house (GA, HF, Series 9, M477/143). Robinson (1972:255) described a wintering village where "every hut was the temporary home of several families....where the families ranged from fifteen to twenty members, of all ages and both sexes". The larger structure at Cluster A also supports the multi-family hypothesis. It is assumed that a minimum of one family lived in each room and that the families would have been closely related (based on the earlier discussions of Métis society). There are a number of estimates of Métis family size. The higher estimates indicate a family could have had between 15-20 people (Robinson 1972:55). A recent estimate of family size is more conservative with six to eight members (Baldwin as cited in Burley et al. 1992:45). The disparity in family size maybe the result of a slightly different focus – Robinson is describing an extended family unit while Baldwin's estimate was perhaps based more on the modern nuclear family unit.

The number of occupants would also have fluctuated as the season progressed. Hunters would still come and go in late fall and early spring – mid-winter should have seen the highest occupancy rates. The structure could have housed at least two families but probably three (based on two and three rooms). If the lower estimate of family size is used, then the structure could have had between 18 and 24 occupants. If several (i.e., four or five) families were present, the estimate could be as low as 24 or as high as 40 people. If the estimate is based on Robinson's numbers, as many as 75-100 people could have been using the structure. One hundred individuals seems a bit excessive and even 60 would seem a bit high. However, given the large sizes of families in the 19th and early 20th centuries, 60 individuals may well have been present in a few Métis homes. Using 12 people as the average size of a normal to small Métis nuclear family, the minimum estimate of people who lived at Cluster A is 36. This seems to be a reasonable compromise based on Robinson's description and Baldwin's data and it is also similar to Métis family size from the 1880s (Payment 1990:33-34).

If three or four families lived together, then the 40 to 50 families living at Petite Ville may have only left 12 to 16 house clusters. With one cluster devoted to the missionaries, this leaves quite a few clusters that may have originally been outbuildings. Cluster B is much smaller than and in close proximity to Cluster A and it was wondered if the smaller clusters were structures like storage sheds or icehouses rather than houses. Or perhaps the large structure of Cluster A is the anomaly and most of the small clusters are the remnants of Métis homes.

The artifacts also do little to confirm whether flooring was present. The small size of the artifacts found at Petite Ville would have allowed them to slip through a roughly planked floor or to go unnoticed on an earthen floor. The architectural and site features strongly suggest flooring was present but the artifacts were not helpful in this area.

The artifact assemblage indicates that the HBC was the source of much of the assemblage and the major trading partner. This is not very surprising, given the proximity of Fort Carlton. The condition of the straight pins seems to indicate that the trade was not completely satisfactory. Certain items (such as fine wire or metal fasteners) do not seem to be readily available to the Métis. Using their ingenuity, straight pin metal was substituted and shaped into the desired items. Given the number of straight pins, it is possible that the Métis turned to American sources that could provide cheaper pins.

The artifact distributions were not as useful as expected in assessing the internal organization of the structure but they did suggest a few activity areas. The northern room seems to have a "craft" area where beading, jewellery making and possibly sewing occurred. The concentration of lead shot in Room 2 does not seem to indicate an activity area, so much as an accidental spill. The distributions of the small artifacts likely represent primarily deposition through loss. Other artifact distributions, especially those related to architecture, would have been strongly influenced by abandonment processes – scavenging in particular.

CHAPTER 6: COMPARISONS TO OTHER WINTERING SITES

6.1. Introduction

The excavations at Petite Ville only sampled a small portion of the site and did not provide enough data for an intra-cluster comparison. In order to better understand the structure from Cluster A, it must be put into context with other contemporary Métis *hivernant* sites. Four other wintering sites will be used for comparison: Kajewski, Buffalo Lake, Kis-sis-away Tanner's Camp and Four Mile Coulee. They are reasonably contemporary with Petite Ville and all of the structures were identified as residences. As well, the work and results have been well documented, making the data accessible for comparison. The more extensive excavations at the Kajewski and Buffalo Lake sites make them the best comparative sample. The other two sites can only provide limited architectural details.

The background of each site will be presented before delving into the architectural and artifact comparisons. The faunal remains of the sites will also be considered briefly to identify possible similarities and differences.

6.1.1. Cypress Hills Kajewski site (DjOo-120)

The site is located within the Cypress Hills which has a range of elevations, flora and fauna. The vegetation is dependent upon slope, elevation and soil but grassland, aspen parkland and spruce forest are all present. The fauna species are diverse and characteristic of parkland assemblages (Elliott 1971:21-23). The Kajewski site had a wider variety of flora and fauna than Petite Ville but there are similarities since both would have had the fauna and the vegetation available to the Aspen Parklands.

Three historic cabins were surveyed in 1967 and one cabin was chosen for excavation (at the site DjOo-120). Artifacts indicated the cabin was occupied between 1865 and 1882. On the basis of artifact and feature evidence, the site was identified as a Métis hunting camp. Jack Elliott returned to DjOo-120 in 1969 and surveyed five new

cabins. Elliott fully excavated two of these cabins, designated B and E, exposing approximately 90 and 60 m^2 respectively (Elliott 1971:1, Figures 4 and 5).

There is good documentation of Métis *hivernant* camps in the area. Elliott (1971:48) thought that the description of a Métis settlement at "the foot of the mountains" fit the location of the Kajewski site. He also thought that the description was appropriate since 19 cabins were recorded and "twenty and odd" Métis families were historically documented.

6.1.2. Buffalo Lake (FdPe-1)

Buffalo Lake is located in the central Alberta parklands. Buffalo Lake is the largest lake in the area but there are a number of other smaller water bodies. The floral and faunal assemblage are rich and diverse and include both woodland and grassland species (Doll et al. 1988:5).

It was occupied primarily between 1872 and 1878 but the Métis had been hunting and living in the area since the 1830s. The beginnings of the settlement probably date to 1861. An Oblate mission was established in 1868.

By 1873, the settlement was an important commercial centre to the HBC with large scale, year round settlement. Buffalo Lake was not a typical *hivernant* settlement. There was a small, permanent community consisting of trading families. Their Métis *hivernant* and aboriginal allies formed a large, fluctuating population as they returned from and left on the hunts (Doll et al. 1988:17, 20-22, 32).

A historical estimation of 400 cabins in the 1876 community (Steele 2000:86) has been frequently questioned but the implied population of 2000 people may be fairly accurate (Doll et al. 1988:46). Failed hunts began occurring with increasing regularity in the 1870s; agriculture was not a reliable source of income either, with hail, frosts and grasshoppers. By 1878, Buffalo Lake had been abandoned as residents sought economic opportunities elsewhere (Doll et al. 1988:33-38, 72).

Buffalo Lake was recorded in 1959; excavations and surveys occurred between 1970 and 1983. Eighty-eight cabin locations were noted; 74 of those were undisturbed and available for archaeological investigation. It was estimated that 37-72 cabins still may be unidentified and that an estimate of 125-160 total cabins is realistic based on the maximum population of 1875-1876. Excavations were performed on five cabins (Doll

et al. 1988:3, 6, 211). The smallest excavations (about 20 m^2) occurred at Cabin 5 and 3 and the largest exposure was at Cabin 1 with about 40 m^2. The other two cabins had about 30 m^2 excavated (based on Doll et al. 1988:Figures 10, 35, 43, 53 and 60b).

6.1.3. Kis-sis-away Tanner's Camp

The site is located in south central Saskatchewan in the Dirt or Cactus Hills. The landform has coniferous and deciduous forest cover with a range of fauna, including species not found on the surrounding plains. The area would have offered shelter, fuel and a diverse subsistence base. The Hills were also located between other well-known Métis wintering and hunting locales and would have been a convenient place for a sojourn while travelling (Burley et al. 1992:61).

Kis-sis-away Tanner was a Métis trader from Fort Qu'Appelle. He and other Métis spent a number of wintering seasons in the Dirt Hills in the late 1860s and early 1870s. The number of occupants and length of occupation is unknown (Burley et al. 1992:61-62).

The site was first recorded in 1971. Burley and crew resurveyed the site in 1986 and found five clusters of features. Three of these areas (A, B and C) were tested; approximately 5 m^2 was explored using trenches and auger tests. Area A lacked historic artifacts and its features were believed to be precontact. It will not be included in the comparison. Area B was interpreted as a historic structure, possibly Tanner's trading house. Area C contained the remains of a historic cabin. Area D was not tested but contained the largest number of features. Their distribution indicated the presence of two or three structures within that area (Burley et al. 1992:63-65, Figure 19).

6.1.4. Four Mile Coulee

Four Mile Coulee is located in the western Cypress Hills. It has the same diversity of flora and fauna as the Kajewski site. The numerous draws and valleys provide ample shelter and fuel and the region was frequently selected for wintering camps (Burley et al. 1992:71).

Four Mile Coulee may have hosted smaller wintering groups through the 1860s. The population surged after 1870 with a flood of disaffected Métis from the Red River area. Documents show the site was occupied for a minimum of three seasons between 1874 and 1877 and perhaps as late as 1879-1880. An estimated sixty families lived

there between 1874 and 1876, under the leadership of Norbert Welsh. Efforts were made to secure a priest and a makeshift chapel was constructed in 1874. The Oblate missionary who joined them was Father DeCorby. The winter of 1879-1880 was very harsh for the *hivernants* in the Cypress Hills with severe cold that killed many horses. The bison were gone, with the elk and grizzly bear populations on the verge of extinction. Faced with starvation and bitter cold, many families left for Milk River and the Missouri (Burley et al. 1992:71-73).

The population represented by sixty families is substantial and would have exceeded 350 individuals (Burley et al. 1992:73). Certainly the settlement could have exceeded the Petite Ville population generated by the estimated 40-50 families. Using the same estimate of 12 people per family, the Four Mile Coulee population could have been as high as 720.

Features were dispersed over two kilometres. Eight well-defined mounds and 101 depressions were recorded and grouped into 10 clusters. Only three of the 10 clusters had noticeable mounds. The number of possible structures indicated by the surface features is much lower than one would expect for settlement of 60 families. It was thought that some features may not have been recorded and that historic and recent events may have destroyed or masked the presence of others. One area, Cluster G, was chosen for testing. Ten 50 x 50 cm test units resulted in the tentative identification of a former cabin (Burley et al. 1992:74-77).

6.2. Architectural Comparisons

6.2.1. Surface Features

All the sites had similar features – mounds, depressions and wall lines were all present to provide impressions of structural complexity and organization. The most reliable feature for estimating structure size and shape seem to be the low linear mounds, which, regrettably, are often obscured by heavy vegetation. Each researcher made estimations of structure size, orientation and number based on limited testing and surface features. This is quite common in archaeology and very necessary. Unfortunately, the more extensive excavations at Petite Ville demonstrated how inaccurate such identifications could be. For example, certain features were tested at Petite Ville in 1986 to determine their function. Based on those findings, as well as

feature size and location, the function of untested features was assigned. Large, irregularly shaped depressions were assumed to function as mudding pits; however, excavations showed that such assumptions could be erroneous. Surface features at Petite Ville that looked similar in size, shape and location could have very different functions, i.e., the surface appearance of a feature was not an accurate indicator of the feature's function(s).

While the feature types were similar, their sizes, shapes and locations were very diverse. The largest number of features at a structure occurred at Petite Ville (Table 13). Variables that could influence the number of features around a structure include occupation length (i.e., mudding pits for refurbishment, refuse pits excavated and re-filled, additional storage pits required), hunting success (i.e., more depressions for storage and for garbage disposal), personal preference for storage and refuse disposal, family size, availability of construction materials for building storage buildings, carpentry skills (i.e., easier to dig a hole than build a shed) and the hardness of the soil (i.e., sand vs. clay and/or seasonal freezing). Unfortunately, it is unknown which factor(s) resulted in the numerous features at Petite Ville. It is tempting to infer greater complexity of the Cluster A structure based only on the larger number of features. However, after the above discussion, it is suggested with a great deal of caution.

Table 13: Number and location of features associated with each structure (Based on Elliott 1971, Doll et al. 1988 and Burley et al. 1992).

Structure	Interior Depressions	Exterior Depressions	Mounds	Other Features	Total
Petite Ville – Cluster A[13]	5	6	2	--	13
Kajewski – Cabin B	3	3	2	--	8
Kajewski – Cabin E	--	3	1	--	4
Buffalo Lake – Cabin 1	--	--	1	1	2
Buffalo Lake – Cabin 2	2	--	1	1	4
Buffalo Lake – Cabin 3	2	--	1	--	2
Buffalo Lake – Cabin 4	3	1	1	1	6
Buffalo Lake – Cabin 5	1	3	1	1	6
Kis-sis-away Tanner's Camp – B	1	--	1	--	1
Kis-sis-away Tanner's Camp – C	1	3	1	--	5
Four Mile Coulee – Cluster G	2	3	--	--	5

[13] Only features within the immediate vicinity were included.

6.2.2. Structure Size and Organization

There are a number of architectural similarities amongst the sites. A common feature to almost all the structures was the lack of architectural remains. Wood preservation was poor at all the sites (Elliott 1971:27; Burley et al. 1992:64, 78) but perhaps especially at Buffalo Lake (Doll et al. 1988:213). This may be due in part to the construction methods and materials. Historical data state that local materials were used in Métis construction. This was confirmed by wood samples from the Kajewski cabins (Elliott 1971:25) and Petite Ville. The trees species used depended upon the location – pine, spruce and poplar were available in the Cypress and Dirt Hills while aspen and poplar are typical of the parklands (Elliott 1971:25; Doll et al. 1988:213; Burley et al. 1992:61).

None of the structures show any attempt at building a substantial foundation. The Métis placed logs directly on the soil (Burley et al. 1992:64-66, 78; Doll et al. 1988:79, 213; Elliott 1971:26). The lack of substantial foundations is corroborated by historical accounts – structures were build quickly in an expedient fashion (Callihoo 1953:21-22; D'Artigue 1882:125; Le Chevallier 1930:34; Giraud 1986b:166).

Although there are many historical references to wooden floors in Métis homes (Callihoo 1953:21; Robinson 1979:46, 255; D'Artigue 1882:125; Jones 1955:3), the archaeological evidence is lacking at most of the sites. The Kajewski site has the best evidence for plank floors in both cabins, probably due to the preservative effect of charring (Elliott 1971:26). Petite Ville's evidence for flooring is based on the presence of the double beams[14] and the number of interior cellars. Doll et al. (1988:81, 141, 168) suggested that earthen floors were likely in three of the Buffalo Lake structures but did not rule out floorboards because of the poor wood preservation. No evidence of collapsed floor boards were found within the interior refuse pits of Areas C and B at Kis-sis-away Tanner's Camp or at Four Mile Coulee's Cluster G (Burley et al.1992:64-66, 78). However, one should be wary about conclusions based on the limited excavations at these two sites. Plank flooring was probably more common than the

[14] It is possible that the double beams could have resulted from lower logs collapsing from the wall's weight (Margaret Kennedy, personal communication, 2000). However, it is argued that they functioned to support a plank floor.

archaeological evidence has suggested. The biggest problem facing archaeologists in identifying floorboards is the paucity of architectural remains.

There was little evidence of the larger superstructure (let alone floor boards) at each of the sites and architectural artifacts occur in low numbers (Elliott 1971:27; Doll et al. 1988:213; Burley et al 1992:67-68, 80-81, Table 7). Four Mile Coulee was the only site where architectural artifacts were the dominant class, represented primarily by cut nails. However, 44 of 47 nails were found within fireplace deposits suggesting the nails came from scavenged packing crates, rather than the cabin structure (Burley et al. 1992:80). At Kajewski, it was suggested that the lack of architectural materials was likely due to dismantling or robbing (Elliott 1971:27).

As at Petite Ville, the permanent abandonment process would seem to explain the lack of structural material. Historically, Petite Ville, Buffalo Lake and Four Mile Coulee were all permanently abandoned in the 1870s as *hivernant* prosperity declined with the loss of the bison herds (Doll et al. 1988:33-38, 72; Burley et al. 1992:71-73). Kis-sis-away Tanner's Camp and the Kajewski site would have suffered similar fates as the Métis struggled to change their lifestyle. The evidence from Petite Ville suggests that dismantling occurred as part of the permanent abandonment process by the Métis themselves. This may be true of the other sites as well, depending on the distance to the new settlements. If the Métis were not responsible, then scavenging by other groups (like homesteaders) after abandonment is certainly a strong possibility.

All the identified chimneys were made of wood poles and plastered with clay (Burley et al. 1992:76, 78; Elliott 1971:24, 27). At Buffalo Lake, the chimneys seem to be a bit more substantial with stone bases and a clay/wood superstructure (Doll et al. 1988:125). The fireplaces at Kajewski and Buffalo Lake showed evidence of cleaning and replastering (Elliott 1971:27; Doll et al. 1988:241) which was interpreted as seasonal occupation. If this is true, then the Petite Ville structure may have only been inhabited for one season.

Most chimneys were visible on the surface as mounds. Four Mile Coulee is the only excavated site that encountered a chimney that was not visible on the surface (Burley et al. 1992:76, 78). This is important when considering other Métis sites – just because a mound is not visible does not mean a chimney was not present. This makes is

much more difficult to assess the function of clusters based entirely on the surface features.

Little evidence has been found for doors or windows at these sites. The best evidence of a doorsill was found at Cabin E of the Kajewski site. It was hypothesized that the doorways for Cabin B were to be found opposite the chimneys (Elliott 1971:26). The same theory is posited for Cluster A at Petite Ville. Historical descriptions state that windows were made of parchment instead of glass (Callihoo 1953:21; D'Artigue 1882:125; Robinson 1979:255; Le Chevallier 1930:24) but flat glass was found at Petite Ville and three of the Buffalo Lake structures (Doll et al. 1988:104, 159; Burley et al. 1992:Table 9).

Internal refuse and storage pits are also a common feature to wintering sites (Elliott 1971:36; Doll et al. 1988:214; Burley et al. 1992:104). The refuse pits proved to be a rich source, often yielding the largest cache of artifacts at the site. The two pits partially excavated by the field schools at Petite Ville produced 3896 artifacts or 28% of the total assemblage. If they had been fully excavated, they may have yielded numbers similar to the 12000 artifacts recovered from the large internal refuse pit at Buffalo Lake's Cabin 3 (Doll et al. 1988:83). The internal refuse pits at Petite Ville, Four Mile Coulee, Kis-sis-Away, Buffalo Lake and Kajewski all contained faunal remains as well as artifacts (Elliott 1971:29, 31; Doll et al. 1988:118, Burley et al. 1992:104). Although the amount of bone varied, the refuse pits reflect Métis behaviour and attitude towards garbage disposal. Certainly this behaviour was noted by European observers who felt Métis homes were infused by "a particular aroma [that] becomes aggressive, and, as it were, wrestles with the visitor for the mastery" (Robinson 1972:46).

The structural similarities end with a comparison of size (Table 14). The Petite Ville structure measures almost 21 m by 6.5 m at its longest and widest points. It is twice as long as Kajewski Cabin B and wider than both Kajewski cabins. Its length also exceeds that of Kis-sis-away Cluster C by three times. All five Buffalo Lake cabins have less floor area than Cluster A and most are significantly smaller. Cabin 5 is the closest in size but the wall lines of the structure indicated that it was a much more complex structure and may actually be a series of joined or separate structures. It was also presumed to have a different function than the other *hivernant* cabins.

Not only is Petite Ville the largest Métis *hivernant* structure excavated, it is also the most complex. It has internal partitions that form up to three rooms. Only Cabin B from Kajewski had firm evidence of partitions, although Doll et al. (1988:122) suspected a partition might have been present in Cabin 1 at Buffalo Lake. Unfortunately, the area where the partition may have been had largely been destroyed by previous looting and excavations so no evidence could be found.

Table 14: Comparison of structure size and organization (Based on Burley et al. 1992:Table 8).

Feature	Length	Width	Floor Area	Rooms
Petite Ville - Cluster A	20.5 m	6.5 m	133.25 m^2	3
Kajewski – Cabin B	9.1 m	4.4 m	44.84 m^2	2
Kajewski – Cabin E	5.9 m	5 m	29.5 m^2	1
Buffalo Lake – Cabin 1	9.14 m	3.96 m	36.19 m^2	1
Buffalo Lake – Cabin 2	4.57 m	3.96 m	18.1 m^2	1
Buffalo Lake – Cabin 3	7.32 m	4.57 m	33.45 m^2	1
Buffalo Lake – Cabin 4	8 m	6.09 m	48.72 m^2	1
Buffalo Lake – Cabin 5	12.19 m	11.58 m	105.64 m^2	3[15]
Kis-sis-away – Cluster C	7 m	5 m	35 m^2	1

The three proposed rooms at Cluster A would be approximately 7.3 x 6.5 m, 6.1 x 6.0 m and 6.8 x 5.4 m. The individual rooms at Petite Ville are larger than some of the structures at other sites. The closest matches in size are Cabin 1 and 4 from Buffalo Lake and Cluster C at Kis-sis-away Tanner's Camp. All three structures were felt to house Métis nuclear families and possibly extended ones (Doll et al. 1988:141, 142, 183; Burley et al. 1992:65). The historical literature describes most Métis homes as single room dwellings. The archaeological evidence from Petite Ville, Buffalo Lake and Kis-sis-away demonstrate that large multi-roomed dwellings may occur more often than the literature would suggest.

6.2.3. Summary

A comparison of the *hivernant* structures has not determined a common structure or room size for Métis dwellings. Structure size is likely determined by a number of variables including construction materials, carpentry ability, family size and prosperity – archaeologists will probably encounter even more variety as *hivernant* research

[15] The wall lines are irregular, due to the presence of two additions.

progresses. Even though size will differ, there are still many similarities between the structures. Rooms appear to be open and multi-functional. Chimneys are made of clay and wooden poles, although there may be some stonework. The archaeological remains of chimneys are usually visible on the surface, although there has been an instance where that was not the case. Interior refuse pits are normally present and yield substantial material remains. The paucity and poor preservation of architectural remains seems to be a "calling card" of Métis dwellings. The fleeting archaeological evidence of superstructures suggests that most sites underwent a period of dismantling or scavenging – possibly at the time of permanent abandonment when the Métis needed new resources for new settlements and a new lifestyle. Anything left was likely scavenged by other groups (like homesteaders) at a later time.

6.3. Artifact Comparisons

Historical archaeologists use functional artifact categories in order to evaluate their sites. These categories are often listed from highest to lowest artifact frequencies, which allows a quick assessment of similarities and differences between sites. This "order" has also been used to identify site function, ethnicity, trading patterns, etc. (Doll et al. 1988:167).

Unfortunately, a comparison of the functional categories from Petite Ville, Buffalo Lake, Kis-sis-away Tanner's Camp and Four Mile Coulee might lead one to conclude that the sites had completely different functions or were created by different ethnic groups. A comparison of the sites based on the artifact frequencies requires a large degree of caution. This is mainly because the frequency of the functional categories reflect the excavation methodology of each site, rather than accurately reflect the material culture available at each site. For example, small artifacts like seed beads and straight pins were found in abundance at Petite Ville because fine-screening was employed over the entire site. Not surprisingly, Petite Ville's dominant functional categories are Personal and Household. Certain structures at Buffalo Lake were dominated by beads and/or lead shot because fine-screening was utilized for cellar deposits. The dominant categories at those cabins were Personal and Hunting (Doll et al. 1988:84, 106, 154, 166).

Cabins that were not fine-screened had different dominant functional categories – not because the artifacts were not present but because the recovery techniques were different. This is especially apparent in the Kajewski assemblage where fine-screening did not occur. Small artifacts like lead shot and seed beads occur in very limited numbers (only one lead shot found in Cabin B and only 252 beads [Elliott 1971:189, 203, 234]). If each structure was interpreted without considering the impact of the excavation methodology (i.e., considering only the artifact frequencies), the interpretation of each cabin could be completely different and very misleading.

With the above caution in mind, a quick scan of artifact descriptions and photographs show similar, if not identical, artifacts (such as cut nails, beads, earthenware ceramics and ammunition) occur at Métis hivernant sites. In the case of ceramics and ammunition, the sites often have identical manufacturers and brands. The primary difference between the sites is artifact frequency, rather than artifact type. This difference has been largely attributed to the different excavation methodologies used by the archaeologists.

Most of the sites have a noticeable lack of architectural hardware just as they lack structural remains. The architectural hardware shows little diversity with most sites only having cut and forged nails (Doll et al. 1988:91, 140, 174; Elliott 1971:220; Burley et al. 1992:67-68, 80). The only example where hardware dominated the assemblage was at Four Mile Coulee. However, the majority of nails found were in the chimney deposits and were probably from wooden packing crates, rather than architectural features (Burley et al. 1992:80). Again, this just emphasises the lack of architectural materials at Métis wintering sites.

Petite Ville was not the only site that contained flat glass. Shards were also found at Buffalo Lake's Cabin 2 and 3 (Doll et al. 1988:99, 150). The lack of glass is in keeping with the historical descriptions. Glass windows did occur but parchment was more common. Nevertheless, archaeologists should be watchful for such an artifact.

Materials related to horses were also surprisingly absent at the wintering sites. Horses figured prominently in Métis society (Ross 1957:392) but little was found archaeologically to indicate the large numbers historically present at many of these sites. The most common find was the horseshoe nail. The Kajewski cabins and Buffalo Lake

Cabins 2 and 3 also had artifacts like leather harness fragments, harness buckles, bells and rings and even a hoof pick (Burley et al. 1992:67, 83; Doll et al. 1988:105-106, 160, 168, 196; Elliott 1971:182, 219). It is very possible that the low numbers of such artifacts is due to the excavation methodology and sampling. Perhaps these artifacts were stored in separate buildings and so excavations, which were focused on the houses, missed them entirely. The Métis also would have taken their horse-gear with them, which would have left very little for the archaeological record.

The household and domestic artifacts that were found are quite similar, especially the ceramics. A variety of wares were found which include transfer printed and white earthenware, polychrome sponge stamped earthenware, salt-glazed stoneware and semi-porcelain or hardpaste earthenware (Burley et al. 1992:114). Many of the fragments were too small to be reconstructed but a variety of vessel forms were represented, with bowls and cups being the most common (Table 15). The most vessels were found at Cabin 3, which had 19 (Doll et al. 1988:102-103) and at Petite Ville, which had 14. Spode and Copeland patterns dominated the sites' ceramics – 20 were identified (Table 16). The highest number of patterns (n=18) was found at Buffalo Lake. This is probably due to the number of structures excavated. However, even the small samples from Kis-sis-away Tanner's Camp and Four Mile Coulee contained six different patterns.

Métis wintering sites consistently contain large amounts of fragile ceramics which would seem incongruous with their highly mobile bison hunting lifestyle. Enamelled tin or copper vessels would seem a more appropriate and more durable alternative. Historic observers, such as Alexander Ross, commented on the presence of such items in Métis camps as early as 1840:

> The state of the families in the camp revealed to me the true state of things: the one half of them were literally starving! Some I did see with a little tea, and *cups saucers too – rather fragile ware for such a mode of life* – but with a few exceptions of this kind, the rest disclosed nothing by scenes of misery and want...(Ross 1957:253, emphasis added).

Archaeologically, the most common ceramic vessels are cups, saucers or small bowls which substantiates the historical descriptions of ceramic use for tea drinking. Burley et al. (1992:117-118) argues ceramics had a social task as well as a functional

one. As described earlier, tea drinking was an important aspect of socializing in Métis culture, especially among women. Early Métis daughters of the fur trade gentry were educated to be ladies so that they could behave as proper wives within the upper class gentry. These women were educated and trained in upper class social skills and were very conscious of their social status. After 1831, this group of Métis women found themselves dispossessed from a social sphere in which they had been educated and trained. Though relegated to the lower classes, their upper class social skills and tastes remained with them, as did the concept of using material goods to display social status. One set of goods that served as a marker between upper and lower classes in the fur trade was ceramics (Burley 1989a:102; Pyszczyk 1985:403-404). One option still available to Métis women was the purchase of stylish European ceramics in the effort to use materials goods to regain some of their lost status. The ceramics functioned on both the utilitarian and social level to demonstrate proper etiquette and emphasize social status (Burley 1989a:103-104; Brown 1980:212-213).

Table 15: Vessel forms found at hivernant sites. (Burley et al. 1992:67, 81-82; Doll et al. 1988:102-103, 149, 167, 174, 178, 193-195; Elliott 1971:190, 223).

	Petite Ville	Kis-sis-away	Four Mile	BL 1	BL 2	BL 3	BL 4	BL 5	Kaj. B	Kaj. E
Small bowls				X		X	X		X	X
Cups	X					X	X		X	
Sm. bowls +/or lge cups	X			X	X			X		
Jug									X	
Sugar bowl										X
Plates				X		X		X		X
Saucers				X		X	X	X		
Teapot								X		
Unidentified	X	X	X							

Glass bottles and food cans are present at almost all the sites but their frequencies differ. The Kajewski cabins contained the largest numbers of food cans (both complete and incomplete) which may be related to the occupation length, suppliers or food resources (Doll et al. 1988:215). Low numbers of can fragments were found at Buffalo Lake (Doll et al. 1988:99, 179, 215) and Petite Ville, which suggests the Kajewski numbers are uncharacteristic for *hivernant* sites.

Glass bottles are also part of the *hivernant* assemblage. Various bottle sizes and types were found, some of which contained patented medicine (e.g., Perry Davis Pain Killer) and alcoholic beverages. The original content of many of the bottles is unknown. Cabin E had the highest number of bottles (n=6) (Elliott 1971:255-257). Four or five bottles seem to occur most often – at Four Mile Coulee (Burley et al. 1992:81-82), Petite Ville, Buffalo Lake Cabins 3, 4 and 5 (Doll et al. 1988:97-98, 174, 178, 195) and Kajewski Cabin E (Elliott 1971:225-227).

Table 16: Spode and Copeland ceramic patterns found at wintering sites. At Buffalo Lake, ceramics are identified for each cabin, as well as other areas (Based on Burley et al. 1992:Table 12).

	Petite Ville	Kis-sis-away	Four Mile	BL 1	BL 2	BL 3	BL 4	BL 5	Other Buff Lake	Kaj. Cabins [16]
Flower Vase	X				X				X	X
B-772	X	X		X		X			X	X
Ivy	X	X				X			X	X
Pagoda/Macaw	X		X			X	X		X	X
Seasons variation		X								
Honey-suckle		X							X	
Beverly				X						
Chinese Plants			X							
Turco				X					X	
Grapevine				X	X			X	X	
B700	X				X					
Meander					X				X	X
Ruins						X			X	X
Violet						X				
Continental Views/ Louis Quatorze	X							X	X	
Pergola	X								X	
Alahambra									X	
Bristish Flowers									X	
Osborne									X	
Corinthian									X	

Lead foil was another common domestic item. Lead lined tea boxes and/or food containers could be the source of the foil (Elliott 1971:198; Doll et al. 1988:159-160). A "Crosse and Blackwell" food seal was found in Cabin 5 at Buffalo Lake (Doll et al.

[16] Elliott (1971) does not identify pattern names. The collection was re-examined and identified by the Buffalo Lake authors. They listed the pattern names in Appendix 3, Table 18 but did not break down the patterns by cabin (Doll et al. 1988:409-411).

1988:195). It is identical to the one found at Petite Ville. The Métis at both sites could have accessed these products from nearby HBC posts.

A major difference between Petite Ville and the other wintering sites is straight pins. Complete straight pins were recovered in low numbers from some of the sites – Cabin 3 and Cabin 5 (Doll et al. 1988:101, 196). Petite Ville yielded over 400 straight pins which, no doubt, is directly related to the fine-screening that occurred. The importance of the Petite Ville straight pins is that they provided new information about *hivernant* Métis. The purposeful breaking and bending of straight pins for adornment purposes has not been indicated at any other Métis site. This activity may be site specific – the pins are concentrated in one area at Petite Ville. However, the low amount of fine-screening at the other sites makes it impossible to know if other such areas existed.

Ammunition was very similar with rim- and centre-fire cartridge cases, lead balls, gunflints and shotgun shells found at the majority of the sites. Based on the ammunition, the Métis were using a variety of muzzle- and breech-loading weapons, including flintlocks, percussion locks, rifles and shotguns. The .44 Henry center-fire cartridge case was very common, as were Eley Brothers shotgun shells (Elliott 1971:186-189, 220-223; Doll et al. 1988:87, 215; Burley et al. 1992:68, 83). Only two structures (Petite Ville and Buffalo Lake Cabin 2) had large amounts of lead shot (Doll et al. 1988:154). Both areas were fine-screened – the large amount of shot recovered is directly related to the small mesh size. The occasional gun part was also recovered (Burley et al. 1992:83; Elliott 1971:189).

Artifacts related to clothing and adornment are similar, though they occur in higher frequencies at Petite Ville because of the fine screening. Beads were found at all the sites, though Petite Ville has the most diversity. The most common colours at Métis sites appear to be blues, white, greens, reds and pinks (refer to Table 4; Burley et al. 1992:110). The highest number of glass beads (11,762) was found in the refuse pit at Buffalo Lake Cabin 3 (Doll et al. 1988:106). The disparity in bead totals could be due to the disposal of one or two heavily beaded items at a site (Doll et al. 1988:215). However, it is mostly likely due to the use of fine screen.

Other artifacts like buttons occurred in similar numbers, with similar materials (bone, glass, shell, metal). Black rubber combs could also be considered a common find since fragments were present at five of the structures (Doll et al. 1988:102, 160, 172; Elliott 1971:205). Organic materials appear to have preserved best at Petite Ville but small fragments of cloth and leather were found at Buffalo Lake and Kajewski (Doll et al. 1988:161, 198, 215). The poor condition of organic materials at Buffalo Lake is likely due to the high water table and occasional flooding (Doll et al. 1988:5, 173). Organic materials were not recovered from Kis-sis-away or Four Mile Coulee but that may just be due to the small sample size.

Petite Ville would appear to have clay pipes in greater quantity than the other wintering sites put together. Only six clay fragments were found between the Kajewski and Buffalo Lake sites. The almost complete archaeological absence of smoking at these sites conflicts with the historical descriptions of the Métis as "notorious tobacco-smokers" (Ross 1957:94). Men and women could both smoke pipes but the men were portrayed as "great" tobacco smokers. The tobacco pipe was "indispensable" for Métis life (Ross 1957:95, 193). To explain the absence of clay pipes, Elliott (1972) proposed that stone pipes were manufactured and used by the Métis. The stone was more durable and easily repaired. Such a choice would seem logical given the Métis lifestyle but the presence of the fragile tea sets already indicated that "logical choices" might not apply to such important pastimes. Several factors probably influenced the presence of clay pipes in the archaeological record. Stone pipes would have been more durable and were probably used by many Métis, which would leave little archaeological evidence. The majority of smoking may have occurred outdoors while men and women did chores – the excavations would not have found these fragments since they would be located outside the house. Or, perhaps the pipes were so greatly valued that few were ever discarded unless completely useless. Again, they would not be found by excavations for they would have left with the Métis. Regardless of where the pipes were smoked, the most important consideration is where they broke. If they did break inside the house interior, the fragments were likely removed while cleaning and are located in secondary refuse deposits. None of the excavations were focused on such areas which is likely why very few ceramic pipe fragments were found.

With the exception of Petite Ville, only one artifact was found that was related to literacy. Buffalo Lake Cabin 2 contained one piece of hexagonal pencil lead (Doll et al. 1988:152). In contrast, the amount of pencil lead, writing slate and metal pen nibs from Petite Ville seems anomalous. For once, screening does not explain the different artifact frequencies. Both Buffalo Lake (Doll et al. 1988:115-116) and Petite Ville had the services of missionaries who would have worked with the children on their education. So why are similar artifacts not found at Buffalo Lake? Perhaps the higher amount of material at Cluster A merely represents more children. Or perhaps the missionaries at Buffalo Lake did not let their pupils take home writing equipment. Or perhaps the Buffalo Lake homes did not have any children to be Oblate pupils.

Also related to the presence of missionaries, religious artifacts appear to be part of the *hivernant* assemblage. This reflects the historical record of priestly influence. A rosary and religious medal were found in Buffalo Lake Cabin 3. The oval medal is too corroded to identify but the rosary is identical in form to the one found at Petite Ville. The only difference is that the beads at Buffalo Lake are light blue (Doll et al. 1988:116, Figure 32a and b). A metal heart shape was recovered from Kajewski Cabin E (Elliott 1971:Figure 24x). It was described as a piece of inexpensive costume jewellery (Elliott 1971:236). Unfortunately, the figure does not show much detail but the heart is very similar to the heart medallions found on the two rosaries. I believe this artifact was actually part of a rosary, rather than costume jewellery. The low numbers of religious artifacts seems incongruous compared to the historical importance of religion to the Métis. However, such artifacts would have been important to individuals and families and likely were not lost or discarded very often.

All the Métis wintering sites yielded precontact materials such as lithics and pottery. The interpretation of this material has changed over the years. Elliott (1971:148-149) believed the material was part of Métis *hivernant* technology – a remnant of their aboriginal ancestry. Bonnichsen (as cited in Doll et al. 1988:218-219) believed that stone tools were part of Métis culture but that they were a technological expediency rather than precontact remnant. Doll et al. (1988:182, 208) continued the theme of Métis stone tool technology but also admitted that some of the materials could have come from precontact components.

Perhaps the earliest challenge to Métis stone tool technology came from a faunal analysis of material from the Métis sites Batoche, Buffalo Lake and the Cypress Hills. Kooyman (1981:2, 107-108) concluded that stone tools were absent from the butchering process and that only metal tools were used. After his work in Saskatchewan, Burley (1989b) concluded that the precontact material found in his excavations was not associated with the Métis occupation. The *hivernants* were not using stone tools but their activities were causing assemblage mixing. The lack of *any* historical reference to Métis stone tools supports the archaeological re-interpretation (Burley et al. 1992:112). The field school excavations at Petite Ville support Burley's conclusion – *hivernant* Métis did not have a stone tool technology. Precontact materials in Métis components are the result of Métis activity – just not activity that was first suspected. Wintering villages appear to overlay precontact sites and the archaeologist is forewarned to expect assemblage mixing.

The *hivernant* sites do have strong assemblage similarities even considering the impact of using different screen mesh sizes. The biggest disparity between the sites was the recovery (or lack or recovery) of small artifacts. At the two sites where fine-screening was employed, tiny artifacts dominated the assemblage, usually in adornment or hunting categories. Household and architectural artifacts rarely occurred in large numbers and showed little diversity. One possible exception are the earthenware ceramics which are found in greater numbers and patterns than one might expect. Other materials such as ceramic pipes and glass bottles do not appear in the anticipated quantities. For the most part, these assemblages were taken directly from residential structures and provide archaeologists with a good indication of what can be found around the home. Large portions of Métis sites remain unexcavated – some of the "missing" artifacts may not be missing at all but in refuse areas located away from the home.

6.4. Faunal Comparisons

The faunal comparison will be brief because of the limited information available from Petite Ville, Kis-sis-away Tanner's Camp and Four Mile Coulee. Buffalo Lake and Kajewski have larger analyzed collections.

6.4.1. Kis-sis-away Tanner's Camp

The faunal assemblage included 231 specimens. Most of the specimens could not be identified beyond mammal but bison and rabbit were represented. Fish vertebrae and scales were also present. The majority of the materials were collected from Area A and are mostly likely associated with the precontact strata (Burley et al. 1992:69)

6.4.2. Four Mile Coulee

The 402 pieces of faunal material indicates the use of both large and small mammals. Fish, bird, bison, rabbit and muskrat were all present. It was thought that some evidence for domestic species might be found, given the closeness of Fort Walsh but no evidence was found (Burley et al. 1992:84).

6.4.3. Buffalo Lake

A large number of mammal species were represented at this site. Bison does appear to dominate the assemblage but other mammals include moose, beaver, muskrat, snowshoe hare, Nuttall's cottontail, White-tailed jackrabbit, pocket gopher, ground squirrel and several small rodent species (Doll et al. 1988:118, 139-140, 165, 201)

A variety of bird species are also present, including both waterfowl and game birds. The following species were represented: Snow goose, Canada goose, White-fronted goose, Ruddy duck, Gadwall, Mallard, Pintail, Red Head Duck, Sharp-tailed grouse, Yellow-headed blackbird and the Trumpeter Swan. The diversity is rounded out by fish and a toad (the toad is probably intrusive) (Doll et al. 1988:119, 140, 165, 201).

Doll et al. noted the diversity and believed it was the result of bison herd absences. The Métis had turned to hunting other species to keep themselves alive until the herds could be found. He believed the faunal remains showed evidence of dietary stress among the Métis. He also believed that some of the faunal remains may be located in areas that were untouched by excavation and that the faunal collection may be incomplete (Doll et al. 1988:119, 140-141).

6.4.4. Kajewski Site

The faunal assemblage of Cabin B contained primarily bison, elk, wolf, domestic dog or coyote, porcupine, beaver and various small rodents. Other species present included deer, prong-horn antelope, red fox, kit fox, cougar, bobcat, badger, skunk, jackrabbit, cottontail rabbit, grouse and large fish (like pike) (Elliott 1971:46).

The occupants of Cabin E principally consumed bison, wolf and various small rodents. Domestic sheep, wood rat or muskrat and Canada goose were also present (Elliott 1971:46). No explanation for the presence of domestic sheep is given.

The faunal material was well-preserved and butchering evidence was present, especially on the large mammal and canid specimens. Most of the small mammals and grouse-sized bird remains were unbroken. A number of foetal ungulate long bones were also recovered (Elliott 1971:240-241, 270-271).

Elliott (1971:46) believed that the diverse number of butchered species indicated that the Métis were undergoing dietary stress, i.e., the Métis had turned to other species to keep themselves alive until the bison herds could be found.

6.4.5. Faunal Discussion

The faunal assemblages from Buffalo Lake and Kajewski sites both show great species diversity. Both authors believe this is related to dietary stress caused by the absence of the bison herds. However, both sites also had good evidence for bison, unlike Petite Ville. Neither author seems to have considered the animals beyond their meat content. Some of the animals, especially the Yellow-headed blackbird, suggest that other factors were important. The animals may also have been hunted for their fur and feathers. Callihoo (1953:22) stated their mattresses and pillows were stuffed with goose and duck feathers. Bird bone and feathers may have adornment uses as well. Other animals, such as the muskrat, may have been hunted simply because they were a delicacy.

Species diversity seems to be part of the *hivernant* assemblage. Such diversity, especially at Buffalo Lake and Kajewski, may indicate dietary stress. The definite lack of large mammals at Petite Ville would certainly suggest dietary stress was present but more work must be done on the faunal assemblage and on the site. The small samples from the other two sites make it difficult to assess if the same stresses applied.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS

This thesis had several aims – some have been accomplished better than others. The primary goal of the research was to understand the organization and dimensions of the structure excavated at Cluster A, within the framework of other wintering sites. The structure excavated at Petite Ville is the largest Métis *hivernant* structure ever excavated. The probability of three rooms also makes it unique. There are no historical descriptions of such large structures with this many rooms. The photograph at Wood Mountain is the only historical evidence that such large buildings were part of Métis culture. The archaeological evidence has also been limited to small buildings. The structure at Cluster A may well be an oddity but archaeologists would do well to realize that the Métis building practices and their conceptions of space would appear to be diverse. Archaeologists have been preconditioned by the historical literature to expect small buildings with one or two rooms. Petite Ville challenges that assumption.

Other than its size and rooms, the structure at Petite Ville appears similar to the other Métis *hivernant* residences excavated. Flooring and glass windows have been documented at other sites and in the historical literature. Rooms would appear to be open with little in the way of furniture. Room dimensions appear to average about 6 to 7 metres in length and 5-7 metres in width.

The faunal and artifact assemblages are very similar in artifact types and diversity. Some of the artifacts occur with great frequency at Petite Ville but that is due primarily to the fine-screening. Even though many of the artifacts would appear to be the same, the assemblage at Petite Ville, in some ways, is unique. Fine-screening at Petite Ville provided new information about Métis adornment and crafts. Straight pins/bent metal and beads have never been found together in such quantities and they provide an interesting insight into Métis ingenuity. The detailed recovery of such minute artifacts provides other researchers with a base-line for comparison.

Consistent fine-screening at Petite Ville has found some interesting artifacts and artifact concentrations that have not been seen at other *hivernant* sites. It suggests that more effort should be made to fine-screen the excavations and that fine-screening should not be limited to depressions. Unfortunately, fine-screening presents a serious challenge to archaeological resources. In a perfect world, all archaeologists would have the time and resources to fine-screen all the dirt they excavate. In reality, each quadrant of dirt excavated at Petite Ville could take up to 45 minutes to fine-screen – it is time consuming to pick out 300 seed beads or 100 straight pin heads. The screening bottleneck would be enough to bankrupt any archaeological contractor. Yet it would appear that fine-screening is necessary at Métis sites or at least three different artifacts will be under-represented or even absent. Métis sites do not appear to be rich in material culture which perhaps emphasizes the need to collect as many artifacts as possible. A compromise between fine-screening and time would seem necessary. Perhaps one portion of each unit, i.e., a quadrant, or every 2 out of five test pits, could be fine-screened. Even if the artifacts were not fully collected, at least their presence has been established and some estimation of their quantity can be made.

While it was originally hoped that this research could shed light on Métis trade, very few statements can be made. For the most part, the research was hindered by the lack of easily identifiable and traceable artifacts. The artifacts recovered from Petite Ville appear to originate mostly from the HBC. The best examples are the Spode and Copeland ceramics, the Crosse and Blackwell lead foil and the ammunition. Straight pins may have been more affordable from the United States but no concrete evidence was found that such trade occurred. With the close proximity of Fort Carlton, it does not seem odd that most of the trade appears to be with the HBC. Its factor, Lawrence Clarke appeared to court Métis trade and it seem that he was successful. However, he did note that if he could not supply their needs they would not hesitate to go elsewhere. The trade issue is complicated by the Métis themselves – many Métis were successful traders and their goods could also have originated from the HBC, Red River, the United States or any other locale. This suggests that distance may not be much of a consideration if the Métis desired specific goods.

The historical literature suggests that the Métis at Petite Ville suffered years of famine. The archaeological faunal assemblage would support a diverse diet but there is not enough evidence to suggest extreme dietary stress. It is unknown how the scarcity of bison was reflected in Métis trading practices. The types and frequencies of artifacts seem similar to other *hivernant* sites. Without knowing the exact date and length of the structure's occupation, it is impossible to speculate whether the assemblage reflects a good trade year, a bad trade year or multiples of both.

Finally, archaeologists who work on Métis sites strongly need to consider the impact of seasonal and permanent abandonment on the site and assemblages. None of the archaeological sites discussed contained extensive artifact assemblages. This would have been influenced by two variables in particular. The historical record suggests that the *hivernant* Métis did not have large quantities of material goods, due mostly to their partially nomadic existence. However, almost all hivernant sites were permanently abandoned in the 1870s. While the material culture may have been limited, in some cases (like Petite Ville), the process of permanent abandonment may have resulted in stripping the entire settlement of anything of value. This also seems to be reflected in the lack of architectural remains which seem to undergo heavy scavenging. The scavenging may occur by the Métis or other groups. The result, for the archaeologist, is a structure that can be very difficult to interpret. The paucity at Petite Ville may be extreme since the new permanent settlement was located so close. It is predicated that the other clusters at Petite Ville will show a similar lack of structural material and hardware. At the very least, an increased awareness and consideration of abandonment formation processes may lead to better interpretations and understandings of *hivernant* sites.

In conclusion, the Petite Ville excavation has increased our level of knowledge on the *hivernant* Métis. There are new spatial and organizational details on hivernant dwellings. The artifact and faunal assemblages, for the most part, complement those of other wintering villages. However, the use of fine-screening at Petite Ville has also added new information about the distributions of artifacts and about the various activities performed at a wintering village. Hopefully, this information will prove useful to future research the *hivernant* Métis.

ARCHIVAL SOURCES

Glenbow Archives, Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Calgary, Alberta

Hardisty Fonds

Series 8, M477/140

Contains: a letter from Government House to Chief Factor J.C. Christie at Fort Edmonton in 1872 about the establishment of a Métis land claim and about the St. Laurent council.

Series 9, M477/141

Contains: a letter to the Editor of *The Manitoban* from A. Blaireau of Carlton House, Jan. 5, 1872.

Series 9, M477/143 *Condensed Report of a Meeting of the Métis Winterers at the Mission of St. Laurence on the South Saskatchewan near Carlton, 31st December 1981.*

Contains: Blaireau's report of the meeting held by the *hivernant* Métis in the Carlton area to discuss establishing a permanent agricultural colony.

Series 9, M477/144

Contains: a letter from L. Clarke to Governor Archibald, Jan. 17, 1872, informing Archibald of the creation of the St. Laurent colony and the Métis proposed land claim.

Series 10, M477/150 *Enumeration of the French Métis Population of the Wintering Camp of the Mission of St. Laurent near Carlton House* Saskatchewan District North West Territories of Canada AD 1871 vizt.

Contains: the 1871 census of the French Métis population of the wintering camp of the mission of St. Laurent near Carlton House. It lists heads of families and occupations, as well as the number of men, women, children and horses in each family.

Series 11-1, M477/154

Contains: a letter from L. Clarke of Carlton House to Donald A. Smith Chief Commissioner of the HBC, Jan. 15, 1872. Clarke is discussing the creation of the St. Laurent colony and the impact it would have on trade if the HBC moves to take advantage of it.

Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta

Acc. No. 84.400 OMI Box 22 Item 738 *Petite Chronique de St. Laurent: Extraite du régistre pour la Mission de St. Laurent établie en 1871 sur la branche Sud de la Saskatchewan proche Carlton.*

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX A: AN EXPLANATION OF BEAD COLOURS

After reading a variety of bead descriptions, the author was very frustrated with colour descriptions like "teal" or "dandelion". It was decided that every effort should be made to identify the bead colour with a standardized colour chart. However, as work progressed, access to the standardized colour chart was proving elusive. The Color Harmony Manual (Container Corporation of America 1958) that had been used by Kidd and Kidd (1970) was unavailable. The only full-colour Munsell chart (Kollmorgen Corporation 1976) available was in the reference section of the university library and could not leave the building.

Besides restricted access, the Munsell colour chart had additional problems. Each page had been enclosed in a protective plastic sheath which obscured the matte finish. The binder rings had been soldered shut, which meant there was no opportunity to examine the colour chips without the sheath. Lighting was also a problem – comparison was conducted under fluorescent light since the book could not be removed from its location. Likewise, it was not feasible to bring over 9000 beads into the library for the identification. At this point, the exercise was beginning to seem pointless, given all the guidelines in Karklins (1985:112) that could not be followed. The Munsell colour charts also did not seem readily available to most researchers which negated the whole point of the process.

Then access to a Pantone paint chip book was granted. It was decided that Pantone had a fairly standardized colour range and its use provided one more reference point for readers. The Pantone chart would be used to identify bead colours and then that chip would be taken and compared to the Munsell to determine the equivilent colour.

Now, the intention of the Petite Ville study was never been to create an in-depth bead report. It was felt that beads should have some time devoted to them, if for no other reason than that they made up 70% of the assemblage. Yet, time constraints and research goals prohibited an intensive in-depth study. The compromise was made to provide basic size ranges, bead type identification and colour identification as best as could be acquired.

With that in mind, some beads were subjected to more intense scrutiny to establish the range of intensity of each colour. The reader will be able to determine the range of bead colours at Petite Ville but not specific bead colour. Terms like "light blue" have a range of Pantone and Munsell equivalents that can be seen in Table 17. While the reader will not be able to know the exact colour of an individual bead, it is hoped that knowing the range of colours found at Petite Ville will be useful for future comparisons. Both Pantone and Munsell colours were included since the author found that access to a complete Munsell colour book is not always easy – hopefully, readers will be able to access at least one of them.

Table 17: Pantone and Munsell colour equivilants.

Colours	Pantone	Munsell
Black	426U	N3.25/
Blue, light	297U	10B 7/8
	2975U	5B8/6
	304U	2.5B 8/4
Blue, medium	284U	5PB 6/8
	2995U	10B 6/10
	279U	5PB 6/10
	306U	7.5B 7/8
	311U	5B 7/8
	312U	5B 6/8
Blue, dark	285U	5PB 5/10 or 5PB 5/12
	286U	7.5PB 5/10
	287U	7.5PB 4/10
Brown	497U	10RP 3/1
	498U	10RP 4/2
Gray	444U	10G 5/1 OR 10BG 5/1
Gray, warm	3U	10YR 7/1
Green, light	331U	10G 9/2
Green, light	381U	5GY 8.5/10
Green, light	352U	5G 8/6
Green, medium	361U	2.5G 6/10
Green, medium	377U	7.5GY 6/6
Green, medium	3258U	5BG 8/4
Green, medium	355U	5G 6/10
Green, dark	342U	2.5BG 4/4
Green, dark	340U	10G 5/8
Pink	217U	2.5RP 8/4
	183U	10RP 7/8
	190U	7.5RP 8/6
	197U	7.5RP 8/6
	196U	7.5RP 8/4
Purple	272U	10PB 5/8
Tan	139U	10YR 5/6 or 5/8
	124U	10YR 7/8 or 6/10
Yellow	120U	2.5Y 9/6
	149U	5YR 8/8
	128U	2.5Y 8.5/8
	127U	5Y 9/6